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District-by-district analysis

STATENET publications

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

Election 1996

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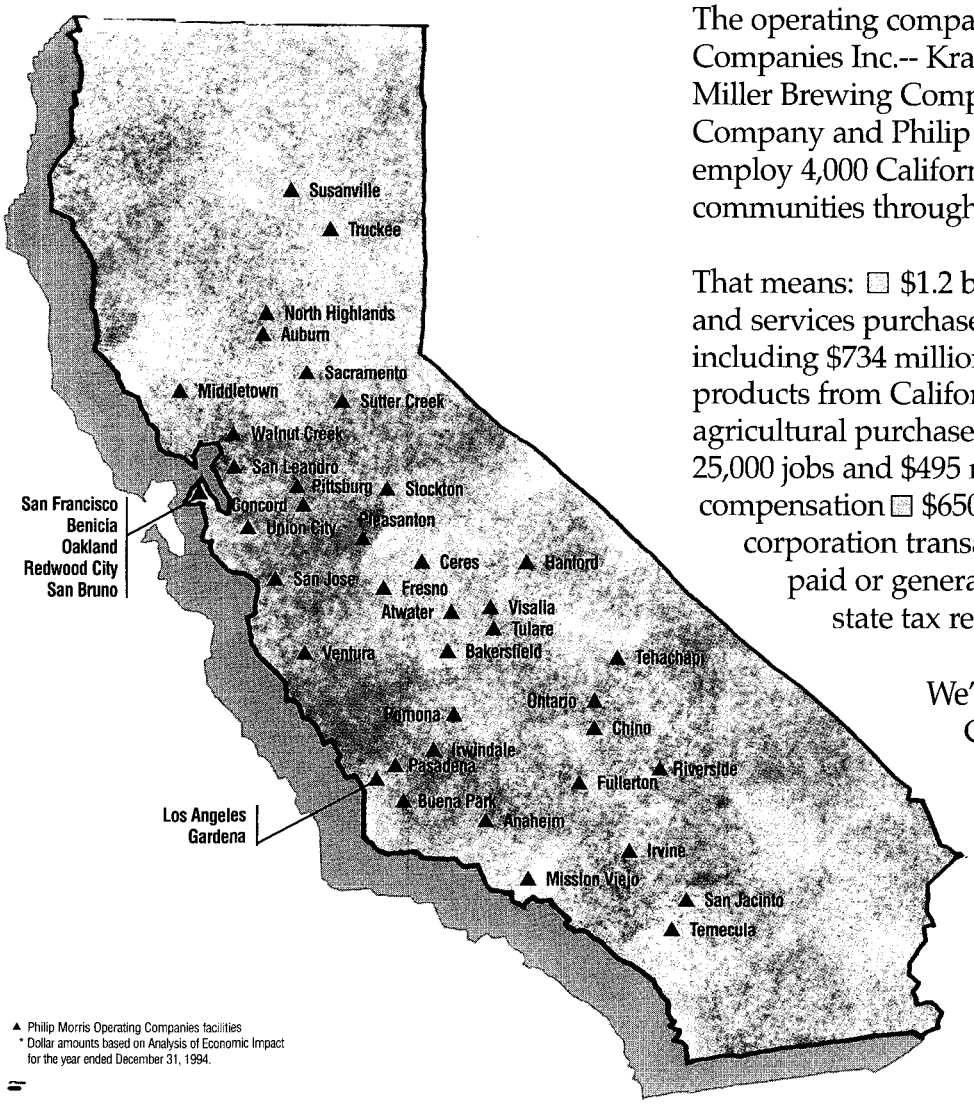

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OCTOBER 1996
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Election '96

On the surface, the race for president in California seems eerily reminiscent of 1992 for Republicans. Their candidate trails badly in statewide polls and doesn't seem able to gain much momentum in traditional GOP venues such as Orange County. In addition, the issues important to a majority of voters don't appear to match those at the core of the GOP effort. The fear is that the national GOP campaign will abandon California, as it did in 1992, harming the GOP's entire slate of congressional and legislative candidates. But 'taint necessarily so. Meanwhile, the real battles this election season will take place in the 152 congressional and legislative enclaves at stake in 1996, which are the subject of *California Journal's* district-by-district analyses included in this issue.

This month's coverage was reported and written by *Journal* editors Sigrid Bathen, A.G. Block, John Borland and Steve Scott.

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Congress

A dozen districts lie at the heart of the tussle for control of the California delegation, now split evenly between Republicans and Democrats.

21

State Senate

Democratic control is at stake in more than a half-dozen venues, from Stockton to Gilroy to Glendale to San Diego.

37

Assembly

Republicans currently hold 41 seats in the lower house, barely enough to maintain control. More than 20 very hot races will determine their ability to keep a majority

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Photography by Rich Pedroncelli

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Upfront umbrage

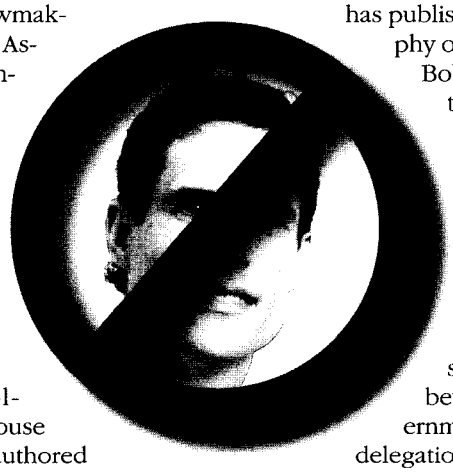
Willie factor. It has been reported that Amtrak no longer stops in Mineola, Texas.

Another planet. Where's Sigourney Weaver when you really need her? Not attending an Assembly Human Services hearing over the impact of new federal welfare laws, obviously. During an end-of session hearing, termed-out Assemblyman Tom Bates (D-Berkeley) objected to the use of the word "alien" when applied to legal and illegal immigrants. A Department of Social Services attorney tried to explain that "alien" is the legal term used in the federal bill, but Bates was having none of it. That prompted committee Chairman Tom Bordonaro Jr. (R-Paso Robles) to chide Bates for being too "touchy feely." "These aren't people from outer space," Bates complained. "They're human beings." Hey, if anyone is from another planet on this one, it's Bates.

Way different planets. If you just went by the roster of witnesses slated to appear before Assembly and Senate human-services committees last month, you'd think the two panels were dealing with entirely different subject matter. Nope. Both Assembly Human Services and Senate Health and Human Services were probing the impact of new federal welfare reform legislation. The Assembly committee, containing a majority of Republicans, heard from officials of the departments of Health Services, Education and Social Services, the Health and Welfare Agency and various county public-service departments, as well as from lobbyists for the counties and the state's probation officers. Finally, the Assembly panel entertained a pair of representatives from the Claremont Institute, a conservative think tank. The Democratic-controlled Senate panel invited some of the same administration and county officials, but instead of the probation officers and the Claremont, it chose to invite a bevy of representatives from the left.

Take the initiative. The 1996 election season hasn't even kicked into high gear yet and already two initiatives have qualified for the June *1998* ballot: a labor-sponsored measure on state contracting and another proposal to limit how much school districts may spend for administration.

Can you spell "p-e-t-t-y"? Last August's legislative finale bore witness to a lengthy parade of out-going lawmakers, mostly Assembly members, being lionized for their legislative service. Grand testimonials were espoused on behalf of departing colleagues as house resolutions authored by Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle (R-Garden Grove) were offered up. All of those leaving basked in their 15 minutes of ceremonial pomp. Well, almost all of them. When it came to H.R. 65 honoring Assemblyman Brian Setencich (R-Fresno), who may or may not be leaving the Assembly depending upon the success of his November write-in campaign, the resolution disappeared from sight. Consider it a pawn in the on-going vendetta for the outcast Setencich. As the expression goes, "an elephant never forgets," and Pringle hasn't quite gotten over the freshman legislator's decision to support former Assemblywoman Doris Allen (R-Cypress) and later himself for speaker with Democratic help. Exactly why a resolution honoring Setencich was introduced in the first place is a mystery, since the speaker's office is mum on the whole thing. As far as Setencich is concerned, it's just another example of the shenanigans he's had to endure since alienating himself from his caucus.



A name for everything. Will someone please tell us why government must use legalese to explain everything? Senator Mike Thompson (D-St. Helena) recently tried to pass a bill regulating jet skis but called them "personal watercraft." For chrissakes, a toddler's inflatable Barney is a personal watercraft. So is a yacht.

Doling out Dole. The *Witchita Eagle and Beacon* back there in Kansas has published a nice pictorial biography of GOP presidential hopeful Bob Dole. If you want a copy, the contact person at the *Eagle* is one Pam Clinton.

A new perspective. Now that Willie Brown Jr. is a big-city mayor and no longer speaker of the Assembly, he's getting a fresh perspective on the relationship between state and local government. He told a California delegation breakfast at the Democratic National Convention that when he was writing his first budget as mayor of San Francisco, his staff kept telling him, "You can't do that. The state won't let you." Finally, Brown said he'd had enough. "Who are those idiots?" Hizzoner said he grumped to his aides. The reply? "You authored 80 percent of those laws and the other 20 percent you jockeyed through both houses," Brown was told.

Ticket to nowhere. A homemade sign spotted amid the California delegation to the Democratic convention: "Jackson-Hayden in 2000." That would be Reggie Jackson and Pat Hayden, right?

Numbers don't lie. According to Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward), the number of legal immigrants being forced out of California nursing homes in the wake of new federal welfare-reform laws is 187.

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A pen warmed up in hell. So much for the notion that the presidential race in California would be waged in gentlemanly debate over the issues. That notion drowned in the sea of vitriol leaking out of some Bob Dole press releases issued recently by Dole's California manager, Ken Khachigian. Khachigian, you may remember, handled Michael Huffington's bid for the U.S. Senate two years ago against incumbent Dianne Feinstein — and you may also recall the level to which that campaign sank during its final month. Calling President Bill Clinton's visit to Fresno last month "an affront to the San Joaquin Valley," Khachigian said there was little wonder Clinton chose to speak to school children "who will not speak back." Clinton, Khachigian wrote, "violated the public trust, lied to America about tax cuts and, to this day, continues to affront our standards of character and integrity." The president is "a pathetic measure of stature ..." And that was only September.

"There will never be a child in the United States denied this emergency protection for want of ability to pay."
— Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on the anti-polio vaccine

Rostrum letters

Returning legislators

Your fine article on former legislators seeking to return to their old haunts (see *CJ*, September 1996) in the post term-limits era contains one key oversight as regards the historical precedent of Senator Bill Leonard moving from the Senate back to the Assembly. As noted, Thomas A. Maloney of San Francisco, who served in the Senate from 1925 to 1932, was then elected to the Assembly after the 1931 reapportionment obliterated his Senate district. Maloney, however, was not the only senator during that upheaval, much less in the history of the institution, to move from the Senate to the Assembly.

In 1932 Charles Lyon of Los Angeles, who served in the Senate from 1919 to 1930 (after serving as an Assembly member from 1915 to 1918), returned to the Assembly for a tenure that stretched, with a break from 1947 to 1950, until 1954. During the 1943-44 and 1945-46 sessions Lyon served as speaker of the Assembly. Similarly, Senator Herbert Evans of Los Angeles also moved to the Assembly as a result of the 1931 reapportionment that collapsed many urban Senate districts into the county-based "federal plan." Actually, all of these senators were preceded earlier in the century by Henry Carter of Los Angeles, an Assembly member elected in 1901 and re-elected in 1903, who switched to the Senate for a term in 1905, then returned to the Assembly in 1919 where he continued to represent the Los Angeles harbor environs until 1928. As one might guess, Carter rounded out his legislative career with another term in the Senate from 1929 to 1932, before falling to the "federal plan." Finally, Roy Nielsen, a longtime Sacramento Assembly member (1925 to 1936), moved up to the Senate in the traditional manner in 1937 where he served for four years. After 10 years of service on the Sacramento City Council, Nielsen subsequently was elected to the Assembly again for three more terms.

RICHARD BURNWEIT
Santa Barbara

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Election

California is President Bill Clinton's to lose, but that doesn't mean that the election itself will be dull. The electoral map is dotted with fierce fights between Republicans and Democrats for control of the congressional delegation, as well as for both houses of the Legislature.

Picture the California election of 1996 as a clash between Republican and Democratic armadas in the age of sail. In the forefront of each fleet is a colossal ship-of-the-line, sent from afar to inspire, rally and lead the local floatilla. These flagships represent the contest for president, but the action between them is confined to a loud but ineffectual volley here, a snort of fire there.

The reason for this lack of activity becomes apparent upon closer inspection. *Clinton* has speed and maneuverability, her broadsides bristle with firepower and her captain strides the deck with vigor and confidence. *Dole*, on the other hand, seems more designed for show than for fight. She has guns, but not much ammo, and her captain departed for distant seas before the battle line formed, replaced with defiant surrogates more likely to hurl abuse than grapeshot. Both sides seem to understand that, in the end, *Clinton* will unloose an unholy cannonade and reduce *Dole* to the waterline.

But those who focus only on the flagships will miss the real vortex of battle, for trailing *Clinton* and *Dole* are frigates where mortal combat will be joined between Republicans and Democrats over control of the state's congressional delegation, and over both houses of the Legislature. Swirling through the inferno caused by these struggles are draconian clashes on the initiative front between a host of special interests (see *CJ*, September 1996).

With 54 electoral votes at stake, California ought to be a major battleground for the presidency. But for the second election in a row, that scenario may not play out in the Golden State. Four years ago, then-President George Bush was so far behind his Democratic challenger, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, that Bush abandoned the field to his foe, writing off California before Labor Day.

Bush's departure marked a remarkable decline for a party that, since World War II, had lost this state only in 1948 and 1964. But signs of his inevitable California defeat were everywhere in 1992, and Bush chose to spend his money in more competitive areas of the country. Perhaps the most evident signals that California was hopeless in

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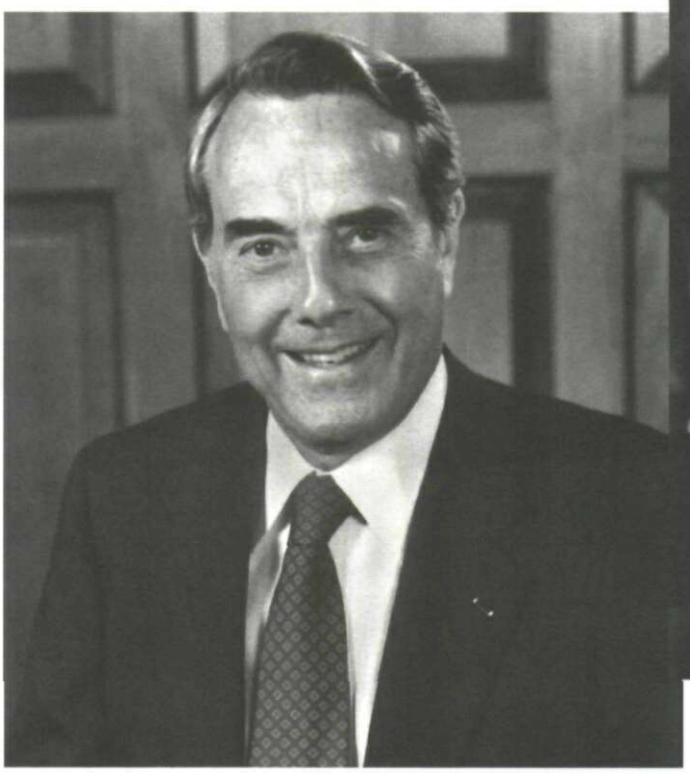
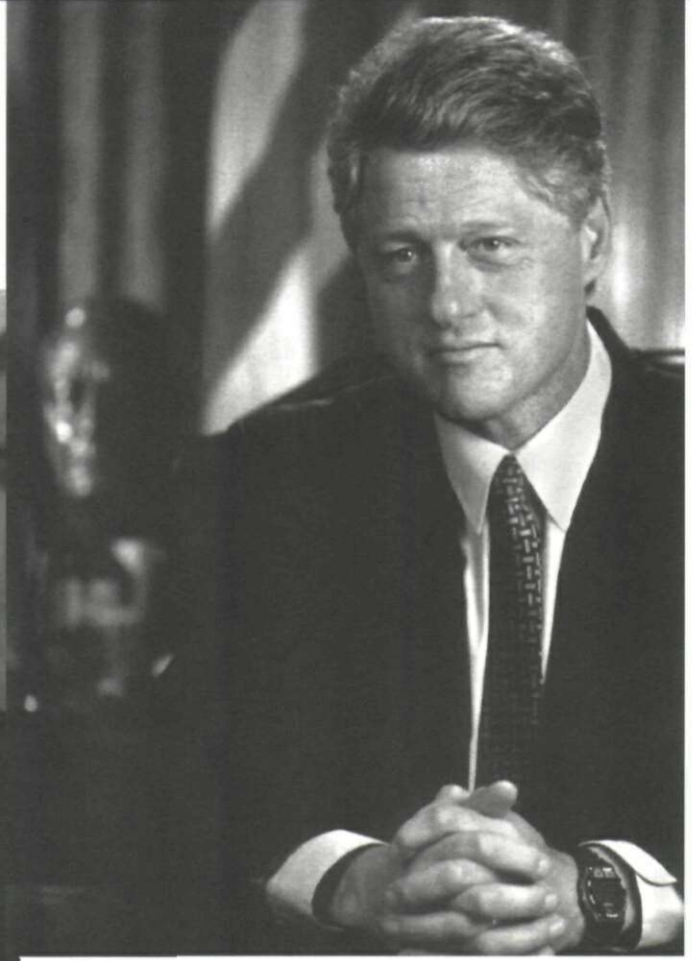
1996





1992 came from traditional GOP bastions such as Orange County. In 1988, Orange had provided a then-victorious Bush with 90 percent of his statewide margin of victory over Democrat Michael Dukakis. But in '92, polls showed Bush and Clinton dead even in Orange County, with another contender — independent Ross Perot — nabbing off nearly a quarter of the vote. Statewide, Clinton maintained a steady 20-point plus lead throughout the campaign, eventually winning by 14 points (see *CJ*, December 1992).

When Bush left, he took with him his campaign treasury — money that Republicans had counted on to help fund statewide media and get-out-the-vote efforts. That strategy is blamed for suppressing Republican turnout in November, a consequence that damaged GOP efforts all down its slate of candidates. Democrats elected a pair of United States senators and kept control over both houses of the Legislature and over the congressional delegation. Republicans rebounded from that disaster in 1994, however, as a national GOP tide swept over California. For the first time in a quarter century, Republicans captured a majority in the Assembly. They narrowed the Democrats' margin in the state Senate and pulled even in the House delegation.

Now comes 1996, and the scenario — at least as regards the presidency — must seem eerily reminiscent of 1992 to Republicans. Their nominee, former U.S. Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, trailed now-President Clinton by 22 points in a September Field Poll, and Ross Perot once again was on the ballot, this time as nominee of the Reform Party. As with Bush, Dole's troubles were reflected in Republican locales such as Orange, Riverside and San Diego counties, where he either trailed or led by margins far short of those necessary to offset natural Democratic strength in urban Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area. For instance, a traditional September rally in Orange County, that routinely drew 10,000 GOP faithful for Ronald Reagan, drew only 2000 for Dole, according to one observer.

There was more bad news for Dole in other polls taken in September. Issues upon which he intended to campaign seemed not to be high priority for many voters. He sought to lambast Clinton's character and to promote a 15 percent, across-the-board tax cut, effective by April 15, 1997. Yet a poll by Field indicated that character didn't matter nearly as much to voters as did a candidate's position on the issues. And the issues, still a third poll said, didn't cut Dole's way. Dole, for instance, was seen as better than Clinton on the issue of keeping taxes down. Unfortunately for the Republican, taxes ranked 22nd on a list of 27 issue areas presented to respondents. There were other signs that voters were less inclined to support a tax cut if it risked increasing the deficit or cutting funds for education or entitlement programs for the elderly. The top issue was education, where Clinton scored far better than did Dole. In other words, September tea leaves were pointing to another Republican abandonment.

But 1996 is not 1992. First, Dole likely will not repeat Bush's pullout, for more is at stake than the presidency and there needs to be some effort from the top of the ticket to help promote the GOP cause. Nationally, Republicans control both houses of Congress. With no Senate race in California, the focus shifts to the House delegation, now split 26-26. Control of the House is in doubt in these elections, and both Republicans and Democrats need to protect their half of the delegation, plus wage war in targeted districts held by

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garnered nearly 30,000 votes in the Republican primary but is hardly a match for Matsui's 60,000-plus uncontested primary win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 6 (53% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Santa Rosa. Republican: Duane Hughes of Novato. Peace and Freedom: Ernest Jones of Santa Rosa. Natural Law: Bruce Kendall of Tiburon.*

This is gas company executive Hughes' second try at this seat, and his first in the general election. The practice will get him nowhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 7 (60% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Martinez. Republican: Norman Reece of Vallejo. Natural Law: Bob Liatunick of Mountain View. Reform: William Thompson of Martinez.*

It's Miller time. Just like every other election year around here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 8 (63% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: Justin Raimondo. Natural Law: David Smithstein. All of San Francisco.*

This is San Francisco. Where Willie Brown is a conservative. Not like other places on the planet. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 9 (67% D - 13% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Ronald Dellums of Oakland. Republican: Deborah Wright of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Tom Condit of Berkeley. Natural Law: Jack Forem of North Hollywood.*

A repeat of the stellar Dellums-Wright 1994 match-up, a real nail-biter if ever there was one. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 10 (41% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Ellen Tauscher of Pleasanton. Republican: Incumbent Bill Baker of Danville. Libertarian: Gregory Lyon of Lafayette. Natural Law: Valerie Janlois of Alamo. Reform: John Place of Oakland.*

Baker is not a pushover, by any stretch of the imagination. Last time around he beat his opponent by 20 points, and Democratic registration has fallen by three points since then. Nevertheless, Democrats think they have a decent shot this year with former Wall Street stockbroker Tauscher. A Dianne Feinstein finance co-chair, Tauscher is well-connected in high Democratic

Tauscher

Baker

circles and can pull plenty of strings that have dollars at their ends. Buoying Democrats' optimism is their argument that Baker, a consistent supporter of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, is more conservative than the bulk of this district, and might be made to answer for the excesses of the GOP Congress. Democrats particularly point out the incumbent's support for repealing the assault-weapons ban, and plan to use the husband of one of the California 101 shooting victims prominently in their campaign. Tauscher may have Baker a little unnerved; at an early speaking rally, he waded out into the crowd and slugged a vocal Democratic supporter. But the incumbent still has money and a history of re-elections on his side. Even if Clinton runs away with the state as a whole, it will be a steep uphill battle for Tauscher. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 11 (48% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Jason Silva of Lathrop. Republican: Incumbent Richard Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Kelly Rego of Stockton. Natural Law: Selene L. Bush of Stockton.*

Registration in the Stockton-based 11th District, while showing a Democratic edge, is, like much of the Central Valley, moving toward the GOP. Incumbent Pombo, a fourth-generation rancher and small businessman, was a member of the Tracy City Council when he ran for the congressional seat, beating Patti Garamendi in 1992. He again kept his seat in 1994 against Democrat Randy Perry, a lobbyist for the state's largest peace officer association, who ran an aggressive campaign but ran out of money in the final months before the election. Silva works for the Sacramento public relations and political consulting firm of Nelson & Lucas Communications, and his family roots in San Joaquin County go back as far as Pombo's. While Silva bills himself as a "fiscal conservative and social moderate," it is unlikely he can topple the very conservative, popular Pombo in this primarily blue-collar, lower- to middle-class, increasingly conservative district. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 12 (54% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of San Mateo. Republican: Storm Jenkins of San Francisco. Libertarian: Christopher Schmidt of Redwood City. Natural Law: Richard Borg of Redwood City.*

Lantos has nothing to worry about. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 13 (57% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Pete Stark of Hayward. Republican: James Fay of Hayward. Libertarian: Terry Savage of Milpitas.*

On the bright side, Fay has a better shot here than he would in downtown Berkeley. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 14 (47% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Anna Eshoo of Palo Alto. Republican: Ben Brink of Menlo Park. Libertarian: Joseph Dehn of Palo Alto. Peace and Freedom: Timothy Thompson of East Palo Alto. Natural Law: Robert Wells of Woodside.*

Brink tried this last time around. They say the third time's the charm, though it seems unlikely in this district. Since this is only his second shot, Eshoo shouldn't be too concerned. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 15 (45% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Dick Lane of Sunnyvale. Republican: Incumbent Tom Campbell of Palo Alto. Libertarian: Ed Wimmers of San Jose. Natural Law: Bruce Currivan of Mountain View. Reform: Valli Sharpe-Geisler of San Jose.*

The spending spree that both parties went on late last year that finished by sending Campbell to Washington is still making waves. Democrats tried to portray Campbell as a conservative Gingrich soldier, and lost. Campbell proved he can still raise a truckload of funds if he needs to, and still has one of the biggest bank accounts of any state incumbent. This all renders San Jose college professor Lane's quest a bit quixotic. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 16 (54% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Zoe Lofgren. Republican: Chuck Wojslaw. Libertarian: David Bonino. Natural Law: Abaan Abu-Shumays. All of San Jose.*

Nothing to worry about for Lofgren. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

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District 17 (52% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: Jess Brown of Santa Cruz. Natural Law: John Black of Palo Alto.*

Farr

Brown

This really isn't the best district for Republicans. But neither is Farr the best candidate for Democrats — he is not a stellar fund raiser, and does not inspire passion among the local party faithful. The district is thus feasible for Republicans, who think they have a potential winner in Farm Bureau director Jess Brown. Brown is a pro-choice fiscal conservative who fits comfortably into the moderate mold cast by Bruce McPherson. While one of the Republicans' biggest advantages has disappeared, after the far-left Santa Cruz attorney threatening to run a write-in campaign against Farr failed to qualify — the national GOP campaign committee still is likely to target Brown's effort with seed money and whatever further soft money and influence it can wield with PACs. Democrats will certainly defend, but unless Farr has improved his own fund-raising base, this could make the GOP effort competitive in spending. Brown argues that his support for tax cuts, CCRI and agricultural interests, cast against his moderate social philosophy is enough to push him past Farr if he has enough money to be heard by voters. Farr will argue that Brown is another sure vote for Gingrich's leadership, whatever his views on individual issues. Both campaigns will be helped by all-out spending on GOTV and registration efforts conducted by the state Senate campaign in this area. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 18 (50% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Ceres. Republican: Bill Conrad of Modesto. Libertarian: James B. Morzella of Ceres. Natural Law: Page Roth Riskin of Modesto.*

A former state assemblyman who easily won election to Congress in a 1989 special election, and was easily re-elected in 1992 and 1994, incumbent Condit, the lead "blue dog" Democrat in Congress, has the most conservative voting record of any Democrat in the House. Despite Condit's poor standing with his caucus and with environmentalists — he was the only Democrat on the League of Conservation Voters recent "Dirty Dozen" list of the members of Congress with the worst voting records on environmental issues — the district is conservative and Condit is again favored to win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 19 (43% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Paul Barile of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent George Radanovich of Mariposa. Libertarian: Pamela J. Pescolido of Visalia. Natural Law: David P. Adalian, Sr. of Visalia.*

Low-key freshman Rep. Radanovich was elected president of Congress' huge freshman Republican class in the second half of his first term — a role with heavy responsibility to ensure that the freshmen become sophomores. Swept in with the 1994 Republican tide, he faces little homefront diversion in his own re-election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 20 (56% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republican: Trice Harvey of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Jonathan J. Richter of San Jose.*

Dooley

Harvey

Termed-out Assemblyman Harvey, who a year earlier easily would have won the Republican congressional primary, faced tough sailing after getting caught up in the brutal partisan controversy over the Assembly speakership. Indicating he might support maverick Fresno Assemblyman Brian Setencich for speaker, Harvey backed down after heavy pressure from state and national GOP heavyweights — and became saddled with the additional political baggage of appearing to have broken his word. Harvey also must deal with the fallout from a sexual harassment allegation brought against him by a former secretary. Though he denied the charge, the case was settled, and the alleged victim agreed not to reveal the amount of the cash settlement. Harvey won the primary, but not by any landslide, and incumbent Dooley, first elected in 1990, is expected to win re-election. Although the district registration leans Democratic, the Central Valley generally has become more conservative; the four Republicans in the primary together garnered about as many votes as Dooley, so his easy re-election is no longer the sure thing it was in years past. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 21 (39% D - 49% R) — *Democrat: Deborah Vollmer. Republican: Incumbent William Thomas. Both of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Mike Hodges of Bakersfield. Natural Law: Jane Bialosky of Santa Barbara. Reform: John Evans of Bakersfield.*

Powerful longtime incumbent Thomas, once vice-chair of the National Republican Congressional Committee, has seen his influence wane somewhat over the years, but he is expected to win re-election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 22 (42% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Walter Capps of Santa Barbara. Republican: Andrea Seastrand of San Luis Obispo. Libertarian: David Bersohn of Arroyo Grande. Natural Law: Dawn Tomastik of San Luis Obispo. Reform: Richard Porter of San Simeon. Independent: Steven Wheeler of Santa Barbara.*

Capps

Seastrand

Another of the districts in which Democrats think they have a good shot at taking a seat from the Republicans, this race is a rematch of 1994's contest, when religion professor Capps lost by fewer than 1000 votes. The conservative Seastrand went to Congress as a staunch supporter of the Contract with

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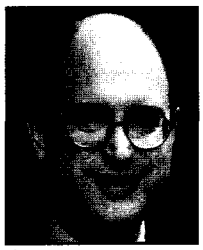
America and the occasionally over-the-top GOP freshman class, and now Democrats think they can wrap the last two years around her neck. They point to her votes on environmental issues, on education, on gun control and her consistent support for Gingrich. But Capps' campaign struggled through some of the critical early months of the campaign; a serious car accident put the candidate out of circulation for much of the summer, and his campaign remained almost invisible in the district until the middle of September. Some of the slack was taken up by independent expenditures from labor and environmental groups criticizing Seastrand's record, but Capps lost a good bit of momentum. The early months may not matter, however. Congressional Democrats will pour substantial resources into the district to make sure Seastrand is painted as an ultra-conservative ideologue. The AFL-CIO has dropped hints about spending as much as $900,000 on anti-incumbent ads. The Sierra Club is in the midst of a full-bore independent campaign, featuring both hard-hitting television commercials, phone banking and door-to-door work, casting Seastrand as an "eco-thug." In Seastrand's favor is the fact that this is historically a stable GOP district, despite its moderate coastal leanings. This is where Michael Huffington set his congressional stakes, and before that the area had been represented by Republican Bob Lagomarsino for nearly 20 years. Both Assembly districts in the area are currently Republican, and will stay that way through the election. TOSS-UP

District 23 (42% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Robert Unruhe of Ojai. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of Pismo Beach. Natural Law: Stephen Hospodar of Carpinteria.*

Despite what seems to be borderline registration, this race promises to be a cakewalk for Gallegly. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 24 (45% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Brad Sherman of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Richard Sybert of Calabasas. Libertarian: Erich Miller of Reseda. Peace and Freedom: Ralph Shroyer of Woodland Hills. Natural Law: Ron Lawrence of Agoura.*

The GOP views this district as one of its top targets nationally, and, on paper, it's hardly surprising, given its


Sherman

Sybert

suburban flavor and marginal registration. Two years ago, targeted incumbent Tony Beilenson squeaked to victory by two percent, and the scare was enough to help nudge him into retirement. An open seat, presumably, makes the race even more inviting, especially since Sybert, Beilenson's battle-tested '94 foe, is back to run again. But the Democrat running is far from being a sacrificial lamb, and the numbers are ambiguous enough that both sides see opportunity. Republican Sybert earned his shot two years ago, with a self-funded primary campaign and a strong showing against Beilenson. A former Wilson administration official, Sybert is already getting fund-raising help from the governor and national GOP leaders have parachuted in on his behalf. Democrat Sherman has proven his fund-raising power as a member of the state Board of Equalization, and in a primary where, despite a long ballot, he won more than half the Democratic vote. The balding Sherman has won the early "Good Humor" award because of his penchant for handing out combs instead of campaign buttons. But he's less good-humored about an area cartoonist who has launched an Internet campaign against him arising out of a flap over whether the state should impose sales taxes on commercial drawings. The GOP denies any connection with the campaign, although the cartoonist is a registered Republican. For his part, Sybert faces the challenge of living up to the sizeable investment already made in his campaigns by the GOP. By some accounts, he was out-hustled at the finish two years ago, and had to step up fund-raising to catch Sherman. But a larger problem for the GOP may be in how the district has performed in the last two cycles. In addition to the Beilenson wins, Dianne Feinstein also beat Huffington by seven points in the district in 1994, and Barbara Boxer beat Bruce Herschensohn by seven in 1992. Any district that elects both Beilenson and Boxer may not be entirely swayed by the GOP's inevitable anti-liberal campaign. An anti-Gingrich tack from Sherman may also have trouble selling, since Sybert backs abortion rights and gun control and refuses tobacco money. In the end, the result will turn on money, turnout, and what, if any, coattail effect Clinton may bring the Democrats in a presidential year. TOSS-UP

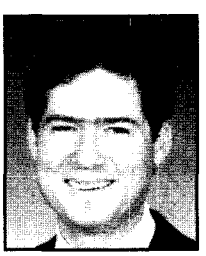
District 25 (37% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Diane Trautman of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: Bruce Acker of Chatsworth. Peace and Freedom: Justin Charles Gerber of South Gate.*

McKeon overwhelmed a low-budget primary foe and should do likewise to Trautman in a very conservative district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 26 (59% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Mission Hills. Republican: Bill Glass of Sherman Oaks. Libertarian: Scott Fritschler of North Hills. Natural Law: Gary Hearne of Los Angeles.*

The main mystery surrounding the veteran Berman is whether he will involve himself one way or another in next year's race for mayor of Los Angeles. Such a foray could depend on whether Democrats retake the House this fall, but nothing that happens in his race will affect the equation. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 27 (43% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Doug Kahn of Pasadena. Republican: James Rogan of Glendale. Libertarian: Elizabeth Michael of Burbank. Green: Walt Contreras Sheasby of Sierra Madre. Natural Law: Martin Zucker of Los Angeles.*


Kahn

Rogan

Tucked in the foothills above Los Angeles and encompassing what once were called "bedroom communities," this district is something of an anomaly: a suburban district where Democratic registration is trending upward. The

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reasons for the trend are largely demographic — more Latinos and Democrat-leaning voters are moving in — and the effect has been to embolden Democrats into thinking they have a chance, especially with the retirement of longtime GOP incumbent Carlos Moorhead. Past history, however, should temper any overconfidence by the Democrats, as voting trends still favor the GOP — Huffington beat Feinstein here in 1994 and Herschensohn beat Boxer in '92. They also face a solid Republican candidate in Rogan, who jumped in when Moorhead announced his retirement and essentially cleared the field. A former judge, Rogan is smart, articulate, and intensely partisan, having received help in his first Assembly campaign from the PAC formerly known as Allied Business PAC. He will not hurt for financial help from national Republicans should he require it. Computer typographer Kahn has the advantage of personal wealth (as an heir to the Annenberg fortune) and residual name identification from two previous runs for Congress. Kahn held Moorhead to under 50% in 1992 and just above 50% in '94. But despite Kahn's energy and drive, many view the results more as a reflection of Moorhead's weakness as an incumbent—Kahn himself finished behind Democratic registration both times. That may have been one reason Democratic poohbahs threw their weight behind former Screen Actors Guild president Barry Gordon in the primary that Kahn eventually won. Kahn could benefit from the coordinated efforts taking place in the area. With a competitive Senate and two competitive Assembly races taking place largely within its boundaries, CD 27 has come to be called "Ground Zero" and Democrats have launched a fierce registration and organizing drive. By most accounts, however, the congressional race is considered the toughest sell of the four for Democrats in the area. A Kahn victory would be a major warning signal for the GOP. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 28 (41% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: David Levering of Claremont. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. Libertarian: Ken Saurenman of Pasadena.*

Having hoarded his campaign money for years, Dreier finally appears ready to spend it on something, but it's not his pro-forma campaign against Levering. Dreier is considered a likely candidate for the U.S. Senate in two years. His close ties to Newt Gingrich could weigh him down in that run, but they won't hurt him in this conservative enclave in the northeastern San Gabriel Valley. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 29 (57% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman. Republican: Paul Stepanek. Libertarian: Mike Binkley. Peace and Freedom: John Peter Daly. Natural Law: Brian Rees. All of Los Angeles.*

Had the Democrats maintained control of the House two years ago, Waxman could have been riding the current anti-tobacco wave to who knows what, having led the initial assault on the industry in 1994. As it is, Waxman will have to settle for another easy re-election campaign and hope his party can do the job elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 30 (61% D - 22% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra. Republican: Patricia Jean Parker. Libertarian: Pam Probst. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Mandel. All of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Rosemary Watson-Firth of Eagle Rock.*

If he so chooses, Becerra can run and win in this district long after he's no longer described as "youthful-looking." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 31 (58% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Matthew Martinez of Alhambra. Republican: John Flores of Commerce. Libertarian: Michael Everling of Los Angeles.*

The orbit of the once-formidable Berman-Waxman political machine has shriveled in recent years, but it still extends far enough to include Martinez, whose registration edge continues to make him comfy in general elections. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 32 (74% D - 13% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Republican: Larry Ardito of Culver City. Libertarian: Neal Donner of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Rashied Jibri of Lakewood.*

Another remnant of the Berman-Waxman machine, Dixon appears content to relax and enjoy elections in one of the state's most Democratic districts. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 33 (66% D - 18% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Bell Gardens. Republican: John Leonard of Bell Gardens. Libertarian: Howard Johnson of Los Angeles.*

Like her "old man" (retired Congressman Ed Roybal), Roybal-Allard keeps rolling along. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 34 (61% D - 27% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Esteban Torres of Industry. Republican: David Nunez of Stanton. American Independent: J. Walter Scott of La Puente. Libertarian: David Argall of La Puente.*

Although he lives in the City of Industry, only a minimal amount of industriousness will be needed by Torres to win re-election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 35 (75% D - 11% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Eric Carlson of Torrance. American Independent: Gordon Michael Mego of Hawthorne.*

Only one question: Where did that American Independent come from? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 36 (41% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Jane Harman of Los Angeles. Republican: Susan Brooks of Rolling Hills Estates. Libertarian: Bruce Dovner of Torrance. Natural Law: Bradley McManus of Manhattan Beach.*

Harman

Brooks

Two-term incumbent Harman has been wearing a bull's eye on her back from the moment she rode personal wealth and Clinton's coattails into the House in 1992. The numbers tell why: Not only is registration decidedly Republican, but the district backed Huffington over Feinstein in '94 and Herschensohn over Boxer in '92. President Clinton trailed Democratic registration in the district, and almost a quarter of the presidential vote in '92 went to Ross Perot. Harman found out just how vulnerable she is in 1994,

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when the GOP tide came within the faintest eyelash of taking her out. Her opponent in that race is her opponent in this one: former Rancho Palos Verdes councilwoman Susan Brooks. Few politicians at this level attract the kind of trouble that seems to follow Brooks wherever she goes. Her '94 primary race was such a mudbath that it prompted a libel suit — later thrown out — from her main opponent. After winning on election day in November, Brooks found her victory overturned by absentee ballots, prompting her to cry voter fraud. A two-year state probe turned up 90 fraudulent ballots out of about 190,000 cast. This year, the endorsement list of her primary opponent, Irwin Savodnik, looked like a "Who's who" of the local GOP establishment in the district, and self-funded Savodnik plastered the district with mail. The '92 race, however, had earned Brooks some powerful friends in Washington, and she rode that and her residual name ID past Savodnik in the primary. If campaigns were won or lost on internal stability, Brooks would be toast — as of this writing she's on her third day-to-day campaign manager, and a pre-primary association with one consultant ended at the consultant's request. By comparison, Harman is the picture of the serene, secure incumbent — perhaps a little too serene for someone who has yet to earn 50% of the vote in a general election. Harman has spent a good deal of time courting the area's business community, especially aerospace executives, and some are on board as supporters. Harman also has a history of developing ties with area Republicans, and she has benefitted from the considerable attention paid to the area by President Clinton. All of this helped Harman to double-digit leads against Brooks in early polling, but the race is far from over. Harman has a reputation of being something of a dilettante, choosing the airwaves over shoe leather as her main campaign tool. By contrast, Brooks is nothing if not hard-working, and the fire in her belly is a four-alarm blaze. One Brooks campaign aide is already vowing to give Harman "eight weeks of hell," signaling a likely repeat of the same bitter mudbath from both sides that characterized 1994. Like many marginal districts, the result will hinge on who turns out. Harman will have to bring back Democratic women, who showed a substantial dropoff from 1992 to 1994. She als will have to hold on to her Republican support, given the district's decided GOP advantage. Brooks' relatively moderate stand on the issues innoculates her from the ultra-conservative rap, but her close ties to Newt Gingrich and the GOP "Contract" could be a liability. With the prospects of a good Democratic year, Harman enjoys the early edge, but if demographics, desire, and audacity count for anything, Brooks will be in the game at the finish. TOSS-UP

District 37 (72% D - 12% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Juanita McDonald of Carson. Republican: Michael Voetee of Signal Hill.*

This urban district has seen its share of turmoil this year, but it all took place in the primary. It all started when former Congressman Walter Tucker III was convicted of corruption and tax-evasion and forced to resign. The unrepentant Tucker tried to pass the seat off to his wife, Robyn, but there were already two old Sacramento hands ready to jump in, along with six other Democratic prospects. McDonald waited until Tucker resigned to formally announce for the seat, but she had already lined up EMILY's List, the National Women's Political Caucus and a host of her allies in education. Paramount Assemblyman Willard Murray, who got the jump on McDonald by announcing early, seemed to have the upper hand. But Murray's traditional slate-mailer campaign was too low-tech, and McDonald had the additional advantage of having most of the significant opposition clustered in the northern portion of the district. In a primary that doubled as a special election, McDonald edged Murray by three points, a victory that sent her immediately to Washington. With no other Democrats running, the seat should remain McDonald's barring some Phoenix-like rise from the ashes by the convicted former incumbent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 38 (50% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Rick Zbur of Long Beach. Republican: Incumbent Steve Horn of Long Beach. Libertarian: Paul Gautreau of Beverly Hills. Green: William Yeager of Long Beach.*

The early line on the Democratic primary figured to make this race a re-

Zbur

Horn

match between incumbent Horn and Peter Mathews, the college professor who challenged him two years ago. But Zbur, a lawyer who represents industry in environmental cases, spoiled the party, proving himself to be a potent fund raiser and a hard worker. Matthews tried to make an issue of Zbur's open homosexuality, suggesting he was a product of a politically hyperactive gay community, but the tack didn't work in a Democratic primary, especially with the breadth of party backing Zbur enjoyed. It will take more than Democratic loyalty, though, to knock off Horn, who has developed a reputation for being a Tom Campbell-style moderate maverick. Two years ago, Horn rode a coalition of Republicans, Perot voters and blue-collar Democrats to a surprisingly easy win over Mathews. To do better, Zbur's campaign is trying to undermine Horn's reputation as a moderate, pointing to a voting record that, not surprisingly, leans Republican. The characterization of Horn as a Gingrich clone is undercut somewhat by Horn's moderate stances on choice, gun control and the environment. In fact, Horn pulled a coup of sorts by winning the endorsement of the Sierra Club, a group that seldom backs Republicans. Zbur has been getting high-level help — he spoke at the Democratic National Convention and has appeared with President Clinton in the district. The Democratic registration — among the highest in the nation for a seat held by a Republican — could also help him make the case for assistance from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Registration doesn't tell the whole story, though, as the district backed Huffington over Feinstein in 1994 and boasts a sizable Perot contingent. If he has enough money, and Clinton's coattails are long enough, Zbur could pull an upset, but incumbency and a moderate reputation still favor Horn. LEANS REPUBLICAN

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District 39 (38% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Bob Davis of Buena Park. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Jack Dean of Fullerton.*

Two years ago, Royce beat Davis by some 60,000 votes. Of course, Royce, a former state legislator, had the benefit of the GOP tide of '94. The tide may not roll in again in 1996, meaning Royce will only may re-election by 50,000 votes. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 40 (38% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Bob Conaway of Phelan. Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. American Independent: Hale McGee of Claremont. Libertarian: Joseph Kelley of Barstow.*

Lewis has been in Congress since 1978, when he left the state Legislature. It is a career that will continue for at least two more years. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 41 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Richard Waldron of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Jay Kim of Upland Libertarian: Richard Newhouse of Garden Grove. Natural Law: David Kramer of Chino Hills.*

Two-term incumbent Kim has been the subject of so many investigations during his four brief years in Congress that some people think "alleged" is part of his job description. Most of the probes stem from the funding of his first race in 1992 and involve illegal contributions from several Korea-based corporations. Samsung, Hyundai and Korean Airlines, to name three, already have pleaded guilty and been fined substantial chunks of change. The question, of course, centers on what Kim knew about these donations. He claims "nothing," which is supported by the fact that the lawmaker himself has yet to be charged with any crime or violation. But earlier this year, the lawmaker admitted that he would invoke the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination if called to testify before a Los Angeles grand jury looking into the matter. The only person charged in the case to date is a Hundayi employee who was acquitted this past May. Republican voters in his Orange-Los Angeles-San Bernardino county district thus far have given Kim the benefit of the doubt, although he won only 58 percent of the March primary vote against an aggressive opponent — Bob Kerns — who made Kim's character the central issue. Democrat Waldron, an attorney, will need to convert Kern's share of the GOP vote to himself, something the Democrats could not do in '94 when Kim won only 41 percent of the primary vote. In the '94 general election, Kim managed an easy victory as the Democratic candidate failed to poll even as high as his party's registration. Kim, meanwhile, has experienced some cash problems; he was $280,000 in debt earlier this summer. But given overall registration, Waldron is not likely to get help from Washington, and without it, this seat remains SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 42 (51% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republican: Linda Wilde of Cucamonga.*

Once more into the breach, dear friends, for 30-plus year incumbent Brown. A perennial target for Republicans, Brown in past years has been able to fend off onslaughts from the likes of round-the-globe pilot Dick Rutan and Latino businessman Rob Guzman. His margins of victory have been shrinking, although he managed to survive the GOP tide in '94. Now, however, comes Wilde, a 38-year-old Superior Court judge with a conservative pedigree and enough confidence and spunk to proudly describe herself as "weird" during a pre-primary interview with *Roll Call*, a Capitol Hill daily. She not only presents Brown with his most unconventional challenge in years, she is the recipient of all the largess that congressional Republicans care to bestow to defeat one of their top national targets. Estimates are that each side will spend as much as $1 million. The importance of the race was emphasized early in September when President Bill Clinton flew into the district to help bolster Brown. Politically, he needs it. An early GOP poll showed him trailing Wilde 43-40, with only 25 percent favoring his re-election. He sits to the left of his constituency — a place he has occupied for most of his congressional career and one that voters thus far have overlooked. In addition, he no longer serves as chairman of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee — a pork dispenser that long helped bring goodies into a district once laden with military and aerospace facilities. But the goodie train has derailed, and the San Bernardino area — which includes this district — has been hammered by base closures and a stubborn recession in the aerospace industry that have played havoc

Brown

Wilde

with the economy. It is estimated, for example, that 40 percent of the city of San Bernardino is on welfare. Crime, especially violent crime, remains a central issue — one that both sides intend to exploit. For its part, the Brown campaign plans to go after Wilde for advocating repeal of handgun-control legislation known as "the Brady bill" and repeal of the ban on assault weapons. Republicans, however, point to endorsements from most local law-enforcement organizations, and to Brown's opposition to "three-strikes" legislation and to the death penalty. Wilde also intends to blame Brown for the area's blighted economy. Specifically, Wilde plans to make an issue of Brown's opposition to the recent merger between the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads, which her campaign claims will infuse some $60 million into the local economy. Given the stakes in this election, both locally and nationally, one portion of the local economy ought not to be so blighted come November — the post office and radio and cable television stations. TOSS-UP

District 43 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Guy Kimbrough of Menifee. Republican: Incumbent Ken Calvert of Riverside. Libertarian: Gene Berkman of Riverside. Peace and Freedom: Kevin Akin of Riverside. Natural Law: Anne Wallack of Moreno Valley.*

Calvert's biggest challenges are behind him with the departure of longtime nemesis Mark Takano, the Democrat who nearly beat Calvert in 1992 but didn't mount much of a challenge in '94. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 44 (42% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Anita Rufus of Palm Springs. Republican: Incumbent Sonny Bono of Palm Springs. American Independent: Donald Cochran of Moreno Valley. Natural Law: Karen Wilkinson of La Quinta.*

Sonny Bono has been in the public eye for more than 30 years. Yet there is

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something about California's resident celebrity-politician that evokes the common touch. He will return for his third term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 45 (33% D - 51% R) — *Democrat Sally Alexander of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Mark Murphy of Westminster. Natural Law: Rand McDevitt of Huntington Beach.*

Rohrabacher's main focus this election season is not Democrat Alexander but an Orange County courtroom where campaign manager/surfing buddy Rhonda Carmony will go on trial for alleged dirty tricks perpetrated during the 1995 recall election against former Assembly Speaker Doris Allen. Also on trial is Scott Baugh, who was handpicked by Rohrabacher to succeed Allen. Alexander, 82 and the oldest congressional candidate this side of Strom Thurmond, provides an interesting contrast to the incumbent, who has become one of the Congress' foremost Republican windbags. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 46 (46% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Loretta Sanchez of Garden Grove. Republican: Incumbent Bob Dornan of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Thomas Reimer of Anaheim. Natural Law: J. Carlos Aguirre of Dana Point. Reform: Lawrence Stafford of Westminster.*

Sanchez

Dornan

Every two years, Democrats rev up their indignation and make grunting noises about taking out another GOP windbag — Bob Dornan. And every two years, their indignation translates into electoral zilch. Part of the problem in years past has been finding a candidate who could raise money, campaign energetically and appeal to local voters. Two years ago, it was Mike Farber, who had carpetbagged into the district from Los Angeles. Dornan flicked his little finger and beat Farber by 20 points. This time, however, the challenge may be more credible. First, Sanchez comes out of a Latino community that makes up nearly 50 percent of the district. In the past, Latinos have not voted in great numbers — or in any numbers at all — but there is anecdotal evidence that the situation may be changing, and that the change benefits Democrats. Sanchez has aggressively raised money, with $100,000 in her coffers at the end of the second quarter — enough to make congressional Democrats blink in her direction. They opened their eyes wider in August when a poll by Democratic pollster Celinda Lake indicated that the race was a dead heat and that Dornan's negatives — especially on job performance — were measurable and exploitable. In addition, Dornan is a magnet for gay political groups across the nation; they can contribute heavily to any effort to beat him because of his continued criticism of the gay lifestyle. Sanchez was on EMILY's List for the primary but may be dropped because it now discounts her chances. For his part, Dornan is hampered by money woes, thanks to a debt left over from his aborted presidential campaign, but he likely will have all he needs by the time the election swings into the final laps. All this aside, Dornan remains a tenacious campaigner who always has performed at his best when backed against the wall. He was thought to be vulnerable to former Judge Judith Ryan in the 1992 primary but beat her by 20 points. After that primary, he was thought to be a cinch against an underfunded Democrat named Robert Banuelos. But Banuelos and a Libertarian combined to hold Dornan to just 50 percent of the vote in November '92. He re-energized himself in '94, with predictable results. Now comes 1996, with Dornan once again considered vulnerable. In the past, that has been enough to bring the old warhorse to a snorting rage. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 47 (29% D - 56% R) — *Democrat: Tina Louise Laine of Orange. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Victor Wagner Jr. of Mission Viejo. Natural Law: Iris Adam of Irvine.*

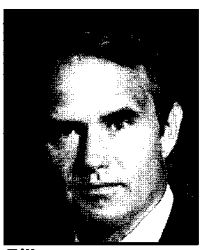
Somewhere along the line, Cox was mentioned as a potential vice-presidential candidate alongside Republican nominee Bob Dole, and the prospect launched the only real campaign of the year for the four-term incumbent. Paper futures soared based solely on the volume of press releases spewing forth from Cox' office as the GOP convention neared — most of them touting his value to a Republican ticket. The flow from Cox dried up the moment Dole named Jack Kemp as his running mate. No sign that Cox plans — or needs — to slip back into campaign mode for November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 48 (28% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Dan Farrell of Dana Point. Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Sharon Miles of Monarch Beach. Reform: William Dreu of Vista.*

Incumbent Packard will return to Congress for his eighth term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 49 (38% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Peter Navarro. Republican: Incumbent Brian Bilbray. Libertarian: Ernie Lippe. Natural Law: Peter Sterling. Reform: Kevin Hambsch. All of San Diego.*

Navarro


Bilbray

The Democratic view of this race depends on where the viewer sits. Despite registration figures, congressional Democrats eye this district longingly, perhaps because they held it until two years ago, before Bilbray, a former San Diego supervisor, snatched it away from incumbent Democrat Lynn Schenk. The tally was close, and Bilbray was helped immensely by the '94 Republican tide — a factor which causes congressional Democrats to talk optimistically about regaining the seat. Schenk chose not to seek a rematch, however, and the candidate who emerged from a three-person primary has a problem: Nobody seems to like him, local Democrats included. Navarro, a UC-Irvine economics professor, ran for mayor of San Diego in 1992, which most people cite as the reason for their distaste. He finished first in the mayoral primary but was flattened in the finals by the current incumbent, Susan Golding. It was the effort against

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Golding that earned Navarro a reputation for slash-and-burn campaigning that still resonates in negatives among local activists. Hence, their view is somewhat more guarded. Congressional Democrats have put CD 49 on their target list and consider Bilbray vulnerable because of votes on the environment and Medicare. They also tout Navarro's aggressiveness and fundraising ability. Local activists, on the other hand, think that Navarro will have trouble energizing his ground campaign or attracting the necessary regiment of volunteers because of his personality and because his race overlaps with major Senate and Assembly races where Democratic candidates such as Dede Alpert and Susan Davis have more appeal and also are seeking to build a volunteer base. They also think Bilbray is popular and energetic, with a strong base among district Republicans and a lot of goodwill left over from his days as a supervisor. Some locals also point to the fact that he polls well in some blue-collar Democratic areas such as Imperial Beach. Congressional Democrats base some of their optimism on Clinton coattails, especially if Republican Bob Dole puts only a minimal effort into his California campaign. But the reality is that the only Democrats able to carry this area — statewide or local — over the past decade have been women. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 50 (47% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego. Republican: Jim Baize of Chula Vista. Libertarian: Philip Zoebisch. Natural Law: Earl Shepard. Reform: Dan Clark. All of San Diego.*

Filner

Baize

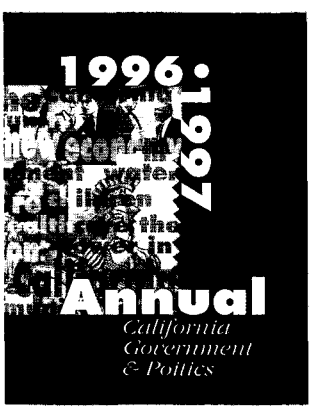
Incumbent Filner had a tough primary against City Councilman Juan Vargas, capturing only 54 percent of the vote after a sometimes nasty campaign. Republican Baize will try to capitalize on the negatives created for Filner by Vargas, but congressional Democrats don't seem overly concerned. They've taken a look at the registration numbers and put CD 50 on their "watch" list — but not very high on the list. Baize, a Baptist minister, predicts a campaign treasury of $50,000 — not much with which to knock off an incumbent who was able to spend more than $500,000 in his primary. Baize will need a heavy infusion of cash from congressional Republicans to remain competitive in a district with a 16-point registration deficit, but he's not likely to get it. Even the county GOP operation doesn't consider this district winnable, and with other fish to fry in CD 49, SD 39 and ADs 76 and 78, Baize remains very low on the priority list. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 51 (29% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Rita Tamerius. Republican: Incumbent Randy Cunningham of Escondido. Libertarian: Jack Anderson of San Diego. Peace and Freedom: Miriam Clark of Rancho Santa Fe. Natural Law: Eric Hunter Bourdette of Solana Beach.*

A former "top gun" ace, Cunningham has another Democrat in his sights. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 52 (38% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Darity Wesley of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Alpine. Libertarian: Dante Ridley of La Mesa. Peace and Freedom: Janice Jordan of San Diego. Natural Law: Peter Ballantyne of El Cajon.*

If nothing else, this race produced one of the more interesting first names of this election season — Darity. SAFE REPUBLICAN



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Southern Exposure

perspective

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Year of the Latino?

Latino voters could account for 10 percent of all the ballots cast in California come November. That's the conclusion of a recent study by the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute. About 1.4 million Latinos are expected to turn out, a 26 percent increase over their record participation in the 1992 presidential election.

Despite the fact that voter participation tends to decrease in non-presidential election years, in 1994 the Latino turn-out in California equaled that in 1992. The 1994 general election also saw, according to Fernando Guerra of Loyola Marymount University's Center for the Study of Los Angeles, "the most polarized Latino vote — in terms of partisanship toward Democrats" since 1976, when scholars began charting Latino voting patterns. Is this a significant trend?

Analysts agree increased voting participation by California Latinos was directly related to Proposition 187, approved by the state's voters in November 1994. So was the tectonic shift of Latinos into the Democratic column. "The Republican strategy," insists Harry Pachon, the Rivera Institute's president, "erred in deciding to write off Latino voters. This strategy of wedge issues might be good for keeping the party in power [short-term]" but "Latinos used to be up for grabs; you're now looking at a Democratic constituency."

The fallout from Proposition 187, which made illegal immigrants ineligible for public health and education services, the charged debate over affirmative action and stringent federal welfare and immigration reforms help to explain a dramatic up-tick in naturalization. Said Pachon, "It's gotten to the 'everyday-life' level for Latinos — the need, the incentive to become citizens." And to vote. If the increase in Latino voting continues and if Latino voters continue to support Democrats, the local political terrain, particularly in the south State will be transformed. And the impact of this transformation on state politics could be pivotal.

The local transformation has already begun. According to estimates supplied by Guerra, more than 40 California cities have majority Latino city councils; most of them are in the South, where, in 1994, L.A. County accounted for about 40 percent of the state's Latino city council members. Currently, there are six cities in southeast Los Angeles County with majority Latino city councils. In 1988, all had majority Anglo city councils. Then, there were only two Latinos among the 30 members on the six governing bodies. Today, 24 incumbents are Latino. What might all this mean to state politics?

Early indications are that term limits have created a recruitment pool which favors local office holders, who were often blocked from moving up the political ladder by long-serving legislative incumbents. Local leaders have the kind of name recognition, political and governmental savvy, and organizational and fund-raising abilities necessary to make the leap to Sacramento. Latinos are becoming well positioned, through local service, to do just that.

Let's look at the short-term impact of Latino candidacies. "The way Democrats are going to recapture the Assembly," argues Guerra, "is to recapture seats that went from Democratic to Republican in 1994." These include districts in which Latinos are running — for example, the 28th and 69th Districts. *The California Target Book* labels the contest for the 28th, which pits Latina deputy district attorney Lily Cervantes against first-term GOP incumbent Peter Frusetta, "one of the key races in determining which party gains control of the Assembly in 1996," and "number one with the Latino caucus." Until Republican Jim Morrissey won the seat in 1994, the 69th had been the only Democratic-held Assembly seat in Orange County; it has been targeted as a top priority by Latino-voter registration groups. Other Assembly seats in which Latinos are expected to make gains are the 9th and 39th, safe Democratic districts which became vacant this year when long-time Democratic Assembly powerhouses Phil Isenberg and Richard Katz were termed out.

An even more remarkable gain will likely take place in the race for the 64th Assembly District in Riverside County. In a safe Republican district, Deputy District Attorney Rod Pacheco, supported by retiring Assemblyman Ted Weggeland, is, according to *The Target Book*, "heavily favored to become the first Mexican-American Republican elected to the State Legislature since the early part of this century."

Predictions are that the number of Latino Assembly members could increase by at least four after November. "Six," insists Guerra, "if everything breaks right." These Latino gains will be largely Democratic. And that could have significant long-term implications for legislative leadership.

Currently, Latinos account for almost one-third of the membership of the Democratic caucus. That makes them a force to be reckoned with when it comes to leadership votes. If the Democrats reclaim the Assembly majority, there is no guarantee that the Latino caucus will act in unison to elect one of their own to the speakership. There are many other factors which bear on a member's vote. But it is instructive to remember that one of the reasons former Speaker Willie Brown lost his first attempt to win that office in 1974 was his lack of support in the then-Chicano caucus.

The increasing representation of Latinos in local government and state legislative office — as well as in California's electorate — also will have an impact on recruitment for statewide races. The new "cadre" of Latino candidates tend to have "cross-over" appeal beyond a district's Latino electorate. That could lead to a statewide recruitment pool, more "salable" to the heavily Anglo general electorate. Recently, Assemblyman Louis Caldera predicted, "I would bet by 2002 we will have half a dozen statewide Latino candidates."

But that reality is still a long way off. This November's election results will give us a clue as to whether Latino voter participation will maintain and grow, and whether the GOP has caused itself irreparable political damage by embracing issues which may have alienated an increasingly important segment of the California electorate.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe teaches at the Claremont Graduate School.

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senate

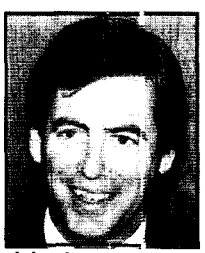
District 1 (39% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Tom Romero of Loomis. Republican: Incumbent Tim Leslie of Roseville.*

Leslie rolls back to another term in the upper house. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 3 (58% D - 22% R) — *Democrat: John Burton of San Francisco. Republican: Curtis Rau of San Francisco. Libertarian: Donald Harte of Mill Valley.*

Burton had something of a race against San Francisco Supervisor Angela Alioto in March, but he's got a free ride in November. The iconoclastic assemblyman will be around to liven up the Senate for at least the next four years, and probably the next eight. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 5 (48% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Patrick Johnston of Stockton. Republican: Kurt Boese of Lodi.*


Johnston

Boese

Efforts by the GOP leadership in the state Senate to wrest control of this marginal Democratic district fell were dealt a blow in the primary, when the anointed candidate, George Osborn, a neighbor of Governor Pete Wilson and Northern California chair of the California Civil Rights Initiative, was scuttled by two 11th-hour hit pieces financed by Democrat Johnston, alleging that Osborn's $35,000 loan to his campaign caused him to miss property-tax payments on his home. Osborn has filed a complaint with the state, claiming the hit pieces violated reporting requirements — a charge Johnston denies. Osborn was not the GOP's first choice either — Assemblymembers Larry Bowler and David Knowles, both with considerably better name identification, decided to take a pass. Which leaves Boese, the Lodi Republican elected in the primary. The GOP will have to put a lot of money into the general election campaign if they hope to take this one, as will Democrats facing growing conservatism in the Central Valley. The numbers are clearly attractive to Republicans (together, Boese and Osborn tallied more than 60,000 votes in the primary to Johnston's 65,000-plus), but the Boese campaign appeared to be starting off slowly for the general, although Boese says major fund-raising efforts are under way. Boese's most recent campaign foray was a crowded eight-way Assembly primary in suburban Los Angeles back in 1992, where he finished dead last in a contest won by now-Assemblyman Pete Knight. Downsized out of a job at Hughes Aircraft in 1993, Boese has made an issue about "quotas" in hiring — especially as they affect white males. He claims that Johnston is out of touch with the district's conservatism and indicated his campaign would target the incumbent's "liberal" voting record on such issues as same-sex marriages and crime. Johnston, a former aide to then-Assemblyman John Garamendi, has weathered his share of nasty campaign encounters over the years. Johnston won Garamendi's Assembly seat when his boss moved on to the Senate in 1980, then later found himself opposing both his former boss and the boss' wife Patti, when she unsuccessfully ran for her husband's Senate seat after he became the first elected state insurance commissioner. A former journalist who once considered becoming a priest, Johnston is running hard, is well-known in his district, respected in the Legislature and can expect to be well-funded by his party. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 7 (44% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Jeff Smith of Martinez. Republican: Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek. Natural Law: Mark Billings of Pleasant Hill. Reform: Willam John Knudson of Alamo.*

Democrats love Jeff Smith. He's a public health doctor who works on

Smith

Rainey

patching up gunshot victims. He's an attorney and a Contra Costa supervisor with local government experience taking on the National Rifle Association. He's just what the spin doctors ordered for a good Democratic year. All of which means he's got a slim chance instead of no chance at keeping termed-out Senator Dan Boatwright's seat in Democratic hands as some Democrats predicted as recently as a year ago. Smith's problem is that he's running against Assemblyman Richard Rainey, a popular former county sheriff who has cultivated a reputation as a moderate, independent Republican who fits this district. Democrats say they can change Rainey's image simply by listing the Republican's votes on gun control, education, and a number of other key issues; they argue that the assemblyman votes to the right of local Congressman Bill Baker, who is widely viewed as far more conservative than Rainey. But Rainey has the weight of recent history on his side, including a solid tough-on-crime record, support for three strikes and a leading role in the recent GOP effort to "fix" the three-strikes law after a court decision. Smith will benefit from some overlap with the Democrats' campaign to unseat Baker; both campaigns will be using the husband of a California 101 gunshot victim to point out the Republicans' weakness on gun control — and by extension, crime issues. Smith is using the slogan "bully-proof," highlighting both his ability to stand up to the NRA and his opponent's stated intention of voting for conservative Orange County Republican Rob Hurtt to lead the Senate. But it's going to be an uphill battle, in which both sides will spend considerable money and draw considerable blood. LEANS REPUBLICAN

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District 9 (68% D - 13% R) — *Democrat: Barbara Lee of Oakland. Republican: Thomas Hudson of Alameda. Natural Law: Carol Flyer Prettie. Peace and Freedom: Robert Evans of Berkeley.*

The March primary featured a bruising primary between Assemblywoman Barbara Lee and her seatmate Robert Campbell, who decided to move into this district rather than run against Republican Richard Rainey in the more northerly SD 7. Area Democrats were mortified at making a choice between the two, but it didn't stop them from giving Lee the nod. And the seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 11 (45% D - 38% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Stanford. Republican: Patrick Shannon of Redwood City. Libertarian: Jon Matonis of Moss Beach.*

Sher

Shannon

A sympathetic observer might excuse both of these campaigns if they exhibit signs of fatigue well before the end of season. The March primary/special election was something akin to an electoral nuclear war, as the total of both sides spending cleared $2 million, and the mailboxes overflowed with reams of mudslinging mailers. Sher ended up beating Pete Wilson aide Shannon by a full 10 points after all the fuss, though both sides ran considerably ahead of registration. The problem for Shannon is that a March electorate is considerably more conservative than its November counterpart, and he's already blown most of his heavy ammunition. He's dedicated himself to a road of campaign reform now, following the strictures of the Common Cause campaign finance initiative. It probably won't get him where he needs to go; voters now know both candidates and have made up their minds once already. There is always the possibility of a last-minute guns-blazing attack by Senate Republicans, but Shannon's best chances are behind him. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 13 (52% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republican: Ray Morton of Sunnyvale. Libertarian: John Webster of Santa Clara. Natural Law: Rick Dunstan of San Jose. Reform: Dom Cortese of San Jose.*

Vasconcellos

Cortese

If Assemblyman Cortese, erstwhile Democrat turned Perotista, gets every Reform voter in the district to vote for him, his 2500-plus vote base will put him only barely on the way to victory. His party is not his appeal, of course; the low-key Cortese has represented one portion or another of this district for 16 years, and has built up substantial Democratic name recognition and support over that time. Vasconcellos has been around nearly twice that long, however, and has the advantage of having just been through a high-profile, hard-fought primary. And of having the Democratic tag after his name. In the end, this is a race of permutations: It's possible that Republicans could pump money into Cortese's campaign, hoping that he does well enough to overshadow Vasconcellos; or Cortese could do well enough to split the Democratic vote, allowing Morton to step over both with just the natural GOP registration. These are both unlikely, however. Vasconcellos is a strong candidate with the ability to raise plenty of money, and Senate Democrats are keeping an eye out for any mischief. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 15 (51% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Rusty Areias of Carmel. Republican: Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. Green: E. Craig Coffin of Pacific Grove. Natural Law: Scott Hartley of Watsonville.*

This district is going to be the tail wagging a very, very expensive dog come November. While competitive Assembly and congressional campaigns will be going on around the region, the respective leaders of the state Senate will have the most money to pump into the district, driving both McPherson

Areias

McPherson

and Areias into the upper regions of the state's campaign spending elite. Both parties have strategically strong candidates: McPherson is a moderate newspaper publisher who has been a popular assemblyman from the liberal Santa Cruz area. Areias is a farmer who has represented the more conservative agricultural portion of the district in the Assembly, though most of the institutional agricultural support has gone to the Republican. Both have spent considerable time addressing the part of the district in which they are less well-known: McPherson blanketed the eastern, less-populous half with taxpayer-funded Assembly caucus mailers in late summer, bringing his poll numbers even with Areias. The Democrat has been working tirelessly knocking on doors in Santa Cruz and Monterey, where the left-leaning majority is predisposed to like him in the first place. But both candidates have flaws sure to be pointed out repeatedly by hundreds of thousands of dollars in negative advertising. Areias has a history of moving around the region to find the best spot to run for a variety of offices, and his reputation as a Capitol playboy still is fresh in some minds. He also has cast votes favoring his more conservative agricultural constituency that may come back to haunt him in liberal areas of the district. Republicans argue that progressive Santa Cruz Democrats will not like Areias, and might be persuaded to defect to the Green Party candidate — an eventuality Senate Democrats take seriously enough to have liberal icon Tom Hayden campaigning for Areias along the coast. McPherson, however, has voted with the NRA on several key issues that will be hammered home to district voters, and, though moderate, is not rated as highly as Areias by most environmental groups. This is a top priority for both parties, and both will spend whatever it takes to win. TOSS-UP

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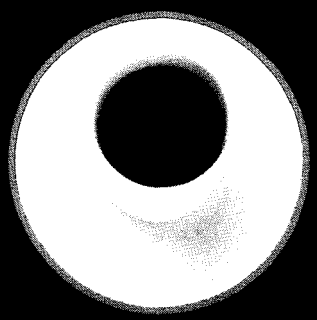

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District 17 (35% D - 49% R) — *Democrat: Steven Figueroa of Victorville. Republican: William "Pete" Knight of Palmdale.*

A district long on acreage and short on Democrats, all the action was in the three-way primary, in which Knight, the stoic former test pilot, bested perennial candidate Phil Wyman and Victorville City Manager Jim Cox. Wyman's many campaigns in the area gave him name recognition, but Knight was well known himself, thanks to his Assembly service and military career. Cox played the role of spoiler, but turned out to be less a factor than his bankroll might have suggested. Only the outgoing incumbent Don Rogers could make Knight look like a moderate, but the district likes conservatives and Figueroa will be no trouble. SAFE REPUBLICAN

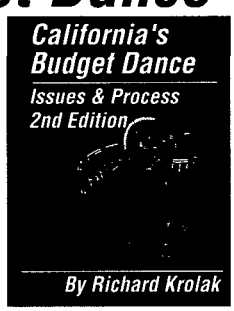
District 19 (39% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: John Birke of Northridge. Republican: Incumbent Cathie Wright of Simi Valley.*

John Birch might have a chance in this conservative district, but not John Birke. SAFE REPUBLICAN

California's Budget Dance

Issues and Process

2nd Edition
By Richard Krolak



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District 21 (44% D - 41% R)— *Democrat: Adam Schiff of Burbank. Republican: Paula Boland of Glendale. Libertarian: Bob New of Glendale.*

With two competitive Assembly districts nested within, and a competitive congressional race overlapping, this Senate race is part of what's been called "Ground Zero" by Democrats. In fact, it is probably Ground Zero's "Ground Zero." Since 1992, registration has flipped in this one-time GOP bastion, thanks largely to demographic changes which have brought more Democratic voters into the district. Four years ago, an unheralded challenger spent $10,000 and kept veteran incumbent Newt Russell under 50 percent, and Democratic registration has grown enough to give Feinstein the edge over Huffington in '94. With this in mind, and polling data showing the Democrats more than competitive this time out, Senate Republican Leader Rob Hurtt tried to cajole Pasadena Assemblyman Bill Hoge into running for the termed-out Russell's seat. Hoge passed, leaving a bitter four-way primary that Boland won with about a third of the vote. Boland, a termed-out assemblywoman who moved into the district from the San Fernando Valley, was clearly not the first choice of either Hurtt or Russell, who backed voucher advocate Wilbert Smith over her in the primary. Still, she weathered the carpetbagger tag and boasts a powerful array of high-profile endorsements, among them Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan. Her itinerant ways upset the district's GOP regulars, however, and as of this writing two of her primary foes had not formally endorsed her. Schiff, a former federal prosecutor-turned-corporate lawyer, earned his shot in a respectable campaign for Assembly two years ago against Glendale Republican James Rogan. His prosecutorial background at least partially deflects the usual GOP advantage on the crime issue, as well as Boland's status as chair of the Assembly Public Safety Committee, but she still boasts strong backing from law enforcement and victims groups. Both candidates are proven fund raisers and both are expected to receive substantial assistance from their respective caucuses. Spending could top $1 million a side. While carpetbagging is rarely decisive as an issue, Boland's open identification with Valley secession — a non-issue in her new district — could give Schiff an

Schiff

Boland

opening to exploit. Boland, meanwhile, is expected to hammer away at conservative themes which have proven resonance in a district which, despite recent trends, is still good Republican territory. Viewed by both sides as a crucial swing seat, this campaign could very well wind up as one of those "last one standing wins" kinds of races. TOSS-UP

District 23 (53% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Tom Hayden of Pacific Palisades. Republican: Scott Scheiber of West Hills. Libertarian: Charles Black of Malibu. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Rachel Isaacson of Malibu. Natural Law: Robert Swanson of Pacific Palisades.*

Hayden drew some national exposure at the Democratic National Convention this summer, as the former '60s radical and "Chicago Seven" member returned to the Windy City as a delegate and self-appointed peacemaker. Nonetheless, Hayden has spent most of his time lately positioning himself on local issues in Los Angeles, giving rise to considerable speculation about a possible run for L.A. mayor next year. Nothing that happens this November will staunch those ambitions. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 25 (71% D - 14% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Teresa Hughes of Inglewood. Republican: Cliff McClain of Los Angeles.*

This urban district was the scene of the state's only significant primary challenge undertaken against a sitting incumbent Senator. Believing Hughes had reneged on a promise to bow out, termed-out Assemblyman Curtis Tucker launched an aggressive and well-financed campaign. Hughes seemed to be in some trouble until GOP Leader Rob Hurtt decided to dabble in the race, sending $50,000 Tucker's way. Democrats in the district and Hughes' traditional education allies circled the wagons. Taking money from tobacco and gaming interests was one thing, but taking money

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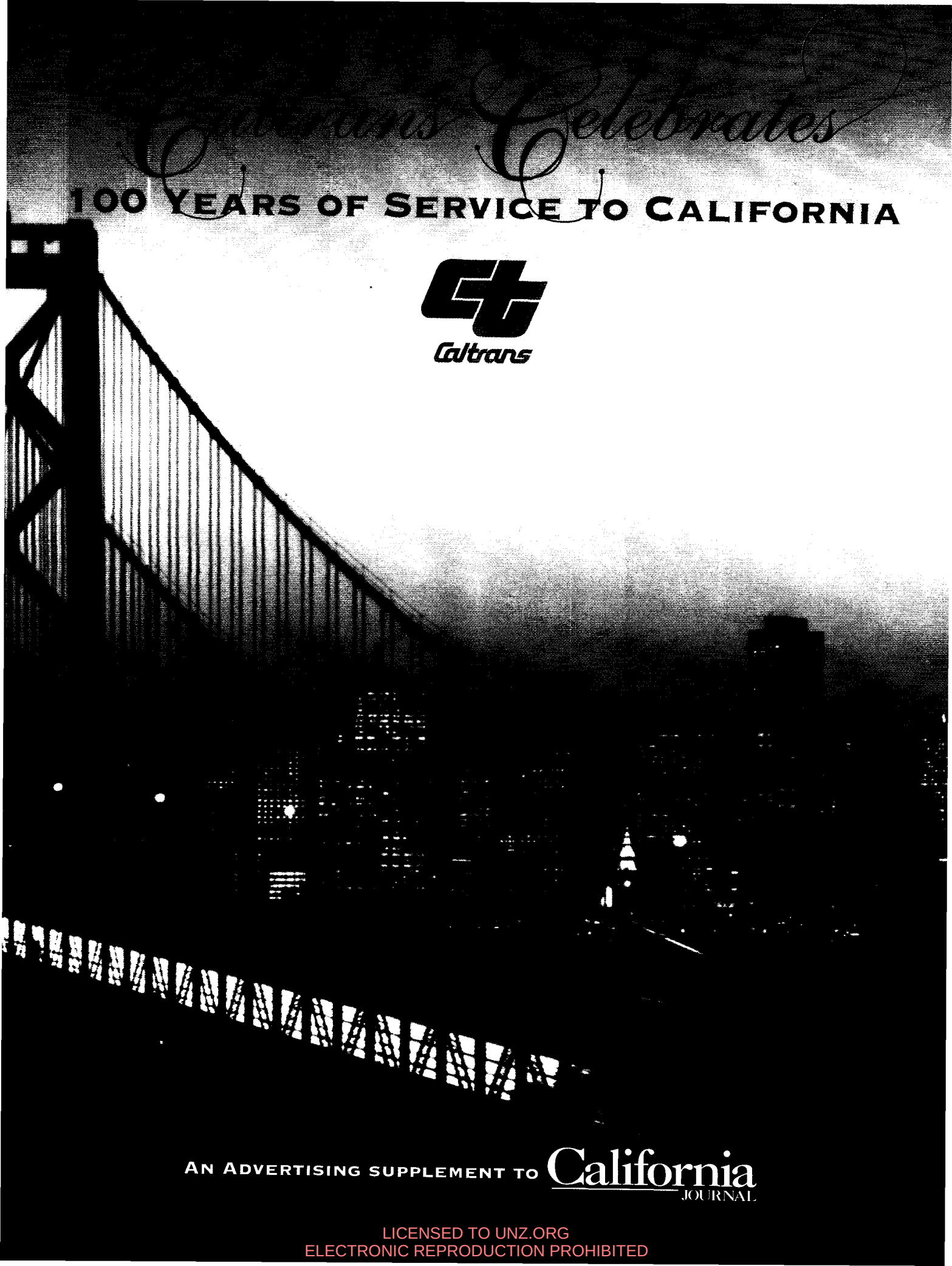

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Automobiles, trucks, mass transportation and intercity rail: each plays a role in moving the state's people, goods, information and services. Woven into an integrated whole, the state's various transportation modes ensure that California will remain an economic powerhouse well into the 20th century-- as they have been for the last 100 years.

We at Caltrans salute the California Journal for the comprehensive look at the state's transportation system contained in this issue. We feel proud of the department's story, and hope that readers will find it both enjoyable and informative.

Sincerely,

JAMES W. VAN LOBEN SELS
Director

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CALTRANS MARKS 100 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE GOLDEN STATE

IN 1896 F.L. MAUDE AND R.C. IRVINE OF THE NEWLY CREATED BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS PURCHASED A BUCKBOARD AND TEAM OF HORSES AND TRAVELED MAPPING OUT A HIGHWAY SYSTEM.

BY JOHN ROBIN WITT

Caltrans has been active in moving the people and commerce of California for 100 years from a loosely connected web of footpaths and rutted wagon routes to the sophisticated system that today serves the transportation needs of more than 30 million residents.

By the early 1850s, the state's miners and merchants had succeeded in weaving a dusty network of supply roads that bogged down into near impassability during the winter rains. However, by the turn of the century, California became one of the first states to name a Bureau of Highways Commission: R.C. Irvine of Sacramento, Marsden Manson of San Francisco and J.L. Maude of Riverside.

Meeting for the first time on April 11,1895, in Sacramento, the three men began the first few steps in a buckboard journey that would take them over 7,000 miles the first year and a total of some 16,500 miles the second. A year and a half later, the three men recommended a 14,000-mile network that would become the basis for today's State Highway System.

That system was scaled down in 1916 to a network of 5560 miles. However, it included two of California's best-known routes, U.S. Routes 99 and 101, for many years the major north-south axes of California.

From the beginning, the commissioners worked from a simple philosophy: "The state highways should be the great arteries of a road system from which should branch out the minor highways serving counties and districts." It should link "the great belts of timber, fruit, agricultural and mineral wealth" to the state's population centers and county seats.

As a result, the Legislature in 1895 purchased the Lake Tahoe Wagon Toll Road as the first state highway. The route is known today as Highway 50 and slices through the Sierra Nevada from Sacramento to Placerville and South Lake Tahoe to the Nevada border.

The state's first highway improvement bond act came in 1909 when the Legislature provided $18 million to build the State Highway System. However, money soon ran out, and the state reached an agreement in which counties would provide right-of-way and build bridges while the state would construct roads. In another cost-saving measure, the state used convict laborers to build roads, a practice that continued until the 1970s.

A second bond act passed in 1919, in part due to lobbying from the automobile clubs that wanted better roads for the growing number of vehicles traversing the state. However, by 1923 the State Legislature began to realize that transportation required a more-secure revenue source. The answer was a fuel tax in which leisure and commercial travelers paid a significant portion of the cost of building the highways they used.

Following World War I, gasoline taxes began to provide stable funds for highway construction, operation and

Witt is a Public Information Officer at Caltrans

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A California Tran

EMIGRANT WAGON TOLL ROAD 1865

1850 • STATE SURVEYOR GENERAL RESPONSIBLE FOR ROAD DEVELOPMENT.

1855 • SURVEY COMMISSIONED FOR A WAGON ROAD OVER THE SIERRA NEVADA MOUNTAINS.

1869 • TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD COMPLETED.

1888 • FIRST ELECTRIC STREETCAR SERVICE IN CALIFORNIA.

1895 • BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS ORGANIZED. APPOINTMENT OF LAKE TAHOE WAGON ROAD COMMISSIONER AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE BUREAU OF HIGHWAYS. STUDIED HIGHWAY NEEDS AND MADE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A SYSTEM OF STATE ROADS.

• FIRST CAR APPEARED IN CALIFORNIA.

1897 • DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS CREATED. MONEY APPROPRIATED FROM TIME TO TIME BY THE LEGISLATURE FOR CERTAIN "STATE ROADS".

1907 • DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS AND POST OF LAKE TAHOE WAGON ROAD COMMISSIONER MERGED INTO STATE DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING. A STATE ENGINEER APPOINTED.

1909 • FIRST STATE HIGHWAY BOND ACT PROVIDED FOR BONDS IN THE AMOUNT OF $18,000,000 FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND ACQUISITION OF A SYSTEM OF STATE HIGHWAYS. APPROVED BY ELECTION ON NOVEMBER 8, 1910.

1910 • FIRST PLANE FLOWN IN THE WEST.

1911 • THE "CHANDLER ACT" ADDED THREE NEW MEMBERS TO THE ADVISORY BOARD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING AND DESIGNATED IT AS THE CALIFORNIA HIGHWAY COMMISSION. VESTED IN THEM CONSTRUCTING AND ACQUIRING OF THE HIGHWAY SYSTEM. A HIGHWAY ENGINEER WAS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR AND MADE EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE COMMISSION.

• FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL FLIGHT NEW YORK TO PASADENA TOOK 49 DAYS.

1912 • FIRST PUBLIC OWNED TRANSIT SYSTEM IN UNITED STATES: SAN FRANCISCO MUNI.

• STATE HIGHWAY CONTRACT #1 GROUNDBREAKING CEREMONIES HELD ON THE EL CAMINO REAL.

1913 • CHAUFFEUR LICENSE FEES AND ANNUAL AUTO REGISTRATION.

START OF ACTUAL CONSTRUCTION WORK ON THE STATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM IN SAN MATEO COUNTY, AUGUST 7, 1912

1915 • LEGISLATURE PASSED THE SECOND STATE HIGHWAY BOND ACT PROVIDING $15,000,000. THIS WAS APPROVED BY VOTERS IN 1916.

1916 • FEDERAL-AID ROAD ACT AUTHORIZED FEDERAL AID TO STATE PROJECTS ON ROADS USED FOR U.S. MAIL.

1919 • THE THIRD STATE HIGHWAY BOND ACT CALLED FOR $40,000,000. APPROVED BY ELECTION.

1921 • DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING REPLACED BY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC WORKS SERVED AS EX OFFICIO STATE HIGHWAY ENGINEER.

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portation Chronology

1923 • Department of Public Works dissolved and California Highway Commission became surviving organization. State Highway Engineer made chief executive officer.
• First gas tax - 2 cents.

1934 • California State Sign Route Numbering System adopted. Auto Clubs do signing.

1935 • State Vehicle License Tax (in -lieu tax) enacted.

1936 • San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge opened to traffic.

1937 • Golden Gate Bridge opened.

1939 • Arroyo Seco Parkway, connecting Los Angeles, Pasadena, and South Pasadena, the West's first freeway dedicated.

1943 • California Highway Commission expanded to six members. Director of Public Works served as chairman.

1947 • First supersonic flight at Edwards Air Force Base, Kern County.
• Division of Highways takes over responsibility of signing State Highways from the Auto Clubs.

1956 • The Federal-Aid Act of 1956 - the Interstate System. Increased Federal-Aid to State Interstate System to more than 90%.

1959 • First monorail in world at Disneyland.

1961 • Southern California's last remaining interurban rail passenger line (Red Car) from Los Angeles to Long Beach makes its final run.
• Highway Transportation Agency established, incorporating Public Works and Division of Highways.

1963 • Collier-Unruh Act. First rapid transit funding authorized. Counties could increase in-lieu tax by 1/2 cent for development of rapid transit.

1964 • Federal, Urban Mass Transportation Act.

1965 • Highway Transportation Agency name changed to Transportation Agency.

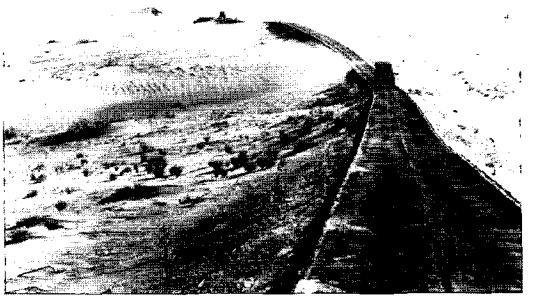
1968 • Business and Transportation Agency formed.

1972 • Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) service begins.
• Department of Public Works and Aeronautics consolidated into the Department of Transportation (Caltrans).

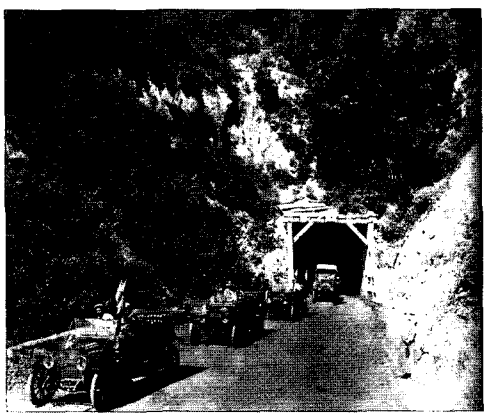
1978 • California Transportation Commission formed to replace California Highway Commission, State Transportation Board, Aeronautics Board, and California Toll Bridge Authority.

1984 • Business and Transportation Agency renamed Business, Transportation & Housing Agency.

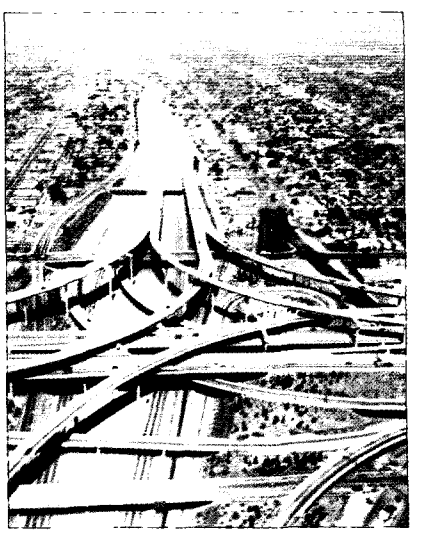
1989 • Loma Prieta Earthquake.
• Temporary 1/4 cent sales tax hike enacted to pay for rebuilding, retrofitting after Loma Prieta earthquake.
• Metro Blue Line Light Rail Service between Los Angeles and Long Beach begins.



DESERT PLANK ROADS USED TO CROSS SAND DUNES



OAKLAND-BROADWAY HIGHLAND TUNNEL, 1912



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maintenance. And the growing number of state highway departments united to form the American Association of State Highway Officials, which worked to establish national design standards across the country. During the 1920s the Yolo Causeway and Carquinez Straits Bridge opened a direct route from Sacramento across the Delta and into the Bay Area. Until then, ground transportation was through Stockton and over the Altamont Pass. Agriculture was shipped down the Sacramento River.

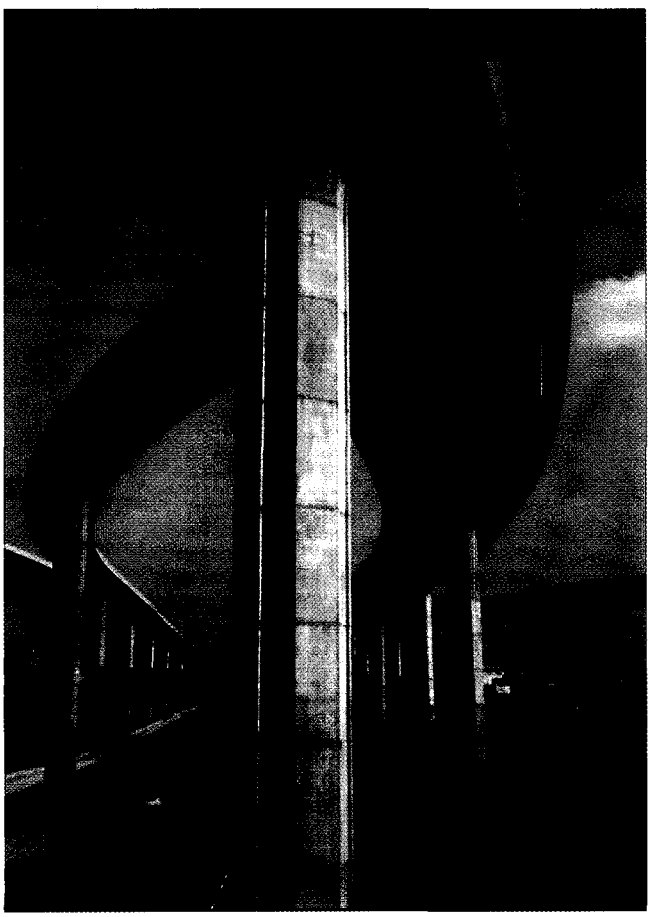
The seeds of the farm-to-market road system were planted in the early 1930s when the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads called on America to "get the farmer out of the mud," a slogan that led to a greatly improved and expanded system of paved rural roads. Another important milestone of the 1930s was the completion of State Route 1, the Pacific Coast Highway.

The 1940s saw the birth of the "freeway era" with completion in 1940 of the Arroyo Seco Freeway, among the first in the nation. California's freeway - and expressway-building sped up in 1947 with passage of the Collier Burns Act, which laid the basis for the state's current freeway-expressway system. Within seven years President Dwight D. Eisenhower proposed the National System of Interstate And Defense Highways.

The 1950s and 1960s also were a time of technological innovation. The second Carquinez Bridge used high-strength steels and hybrid welding, and interstate freeways were cut through areas that once were believed to be virtually impassable: the Sacramento River and Truckee River canyons. And the Sacramento "boat section," a portion of Interstate 5, was built below ground water level and "anchored" by pilings and 15-foot-thick concrete.

The awarding of the 1960 Winter Olympics to Squaw Valley added impetus to building Interstate 80, the first all-weather, trans-Sierra Nevada highway. The divided highway roughly parallels the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, and passes by the route of the ill-fated Donner Party of 1846.

In the wake of the frenetic 1960s, the 1970s were a time of austerity. The then-current political philosophy urged alternatives to highway building, a trend that would continue into the 1980s. Such thinking led to a new name for the department, Caltrans, short for the California Department of Transportation. The name change was emblematic of new thinking, and a rise in the concept that while highways have long been vital to the state, other forms of transportation were emerging to complement roadways.



CALTRANS' DEVELOPMENT REFLECTS THE CHANGES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY OVER THE LAST 100 YEARS.

The 1990s saw fruition of ideas that had been conceived 15 to 20 years earlier. In recognition that California could not merely build its way out of traffic congestion and air pollution, Caltrans began to emphasize the more-efficient use of highways and their integration with other "modes" of transportation. Public sentiment became more receptive to rail and transit, car pooling, ramp metering, telecommuting, flexible work hours, and research into intelligent vehicle and highway systems. And in the last few years, the Northridge and Loma Prieta earthquakes have focused attention on the need to strengthen state highway bridges against the immense power of seismic forces.

In short, Caltrans' development reflects the changes of American society over the last 100 years. From a rural society dominated by pioneers who exploited the state's vast natural resources to a technologically, global-and service-oriented economy, California has grown prosperous. And Caltrans has grown with it.

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from Hurtt was quite another. Hurtt's contribution was widely seen as a bid to force Senate President pro Tem Bill Lockyer to pump some money into Hughes, but in the end she didn't need that much help. Tucker overplayed his hand and will have to wait until 2000 for another crack. With her busy spring a distant memory, Hughes will have an easy autumn. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Karnette

Hawkins

District 27 (47% D - 39% R)— *Democrat: Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republican: Phil Hawkins of Bellflower.*

With two competitive Assembly races nested within its confines, the Long Beach-centered district being vacated by termed-out Senator Bob Beverly is another one of those "Ground Zero" style races that figures to draw oodles of money and nasty mail. Both sides can point to numbers indicating a potential advantage. Democrats cite registration which has been growing their way, and the result from four years ago, when modestly-funded challenger Brian Finander came within a point of knocking off Beverly. Republicans point to a klatch of Reagan Democrats and voting behavior which includes a decisive win for Huffington over Feinstein and nearly three-to-one support for Prop. 187. Both candidates come into the race toned from nominally-competitive primaries. Hawkins, a one-term Assemblyman taking a chance to move up, had the tougher race of the two, running against the fairly well-funded Frank Colonna, who had the backing of ex-Governor George Deukmejian. Decidedly conservative, Hawkins has enjoyed considerable past support from the California Independent Business PAC, and has also received hundreds of thousands in loans from the widow of a former business partner. Karnette, a former teacher, won a surprise Assembly victory in 1992, only to be surprised herself by Steve Kuykendall two years later. Karnette's primary against 1992 contender Finander was somewhat easier than Hawkins'. The distinctions between the two are fairly clear. Hawkins opposes abortion rights and gun control and walks the conservative line on the environment, taxes, etc. Karnette had a reliably Democratic voting record during her time in the Assembly, and is backed by the traditional labor-education coalition. Each figures to portray the other as too extreme for the district. The grandmotherly Karnette showed strength in early polling, and will get plenty of help from the party poobahs. Still, she needed a good Democratic year in '92 to pull off that upset win over incumbent Gerald Felando, and she'll need another one to beat Hawkins, who won't "Hurtt" for money from Sacramento either. TOSS-UP

District 29 (41% D - 45% R)— *Democrat: Tommy Randle of San Dimas. Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia.*

Mountjoy wins the award for having it both ways — a term-limit supporter

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whose well-timed special election guarantees he'll beat the eight-year cap by two years. Randle is more than a name, but not much more. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 31 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Gary George of Redlands. Republican: Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga.*

The first seat swap prompted by term limits features Brulte, a termed-out assemblyman, trading places with Republican Bill Leonard, a termed-out senator. Leonard has represented this district since 1988; Brulte has been in the Assembly since 1990. Neither will work up a sweat for November. More intriguing is the role Brulte will assume once he gets to the Senate. A former minority leader and architect of the party's stunning 1994 capture of the Assembly, Brulte is likely to chafe on the back bench. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 33 (29% D - 56% R) — *Democrat: David Heywood. Republican: Incumbent John Lewis. Both of Orange.*

Lewis has been in the Legislature since 1980 and is running for his final Senate term. That doesn't mean the end of his legislative career, however. He's eligible for three more terms in the Assembly. Any bets? SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 35 (31% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Madelene Arakelian. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson. Natural Law: Nat Adam. All of Irvine.*

This is the Senate district that provided ground zero for nearly a year of legislative turmoil, for it was here, early in 1995, that then-Assemblyman Johnson moved from his ancestral home in Fullerton to run in a special election to replace departing GOP Senator Marian Bergeson, who had been elected an Orange County supervisor. By carpetbagging into the district and rounding up support from the county GOP establishment, Johnson angered a Republican Assembly colleague who also had ambitions for the Senate — Doris Allen. Johnson won that special election, but the circumstances and the subsequent rough-and-tumble campaign seared Allen with a lasting bitterness. She engineered her revenge later that year by conspiring with Assembly Democrats to capture the speakership and deny that post to fellow Republicans she alleged had conspired against her Senate campaign and on behalf of Johnson. Allen's ascension generated institutional chaos that did not end until she was recalled in December, which allowed Republicans finally to elect a legitimate GOP speaker. As a sidelight, her recall also led to the election of Republican Scott Baugh to the Assembly — and to felony and misdemeanor charges against a small platoon of GOP operatives (including Baugh) for their activities during the recall. All this, of course, has little to do with Johnson — except that his decision to carpetbag into this Senate district set the balls in motion. His reward? Another term in the Senate. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 37 (37% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Hans Schroeder of North Palm Springs. Republican: Incumbent Dave Kelley of Idyllwild. Libertarian: Donna Tello of Poway. Natural Law: Jim Meuer of Palm Springs. Reform: George Angell of San Diego.*

If nothing else, this is the most crowded Senate ballot of the year — a fact that shouldn't deter Kelley's march

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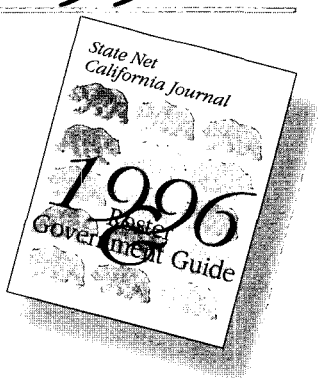

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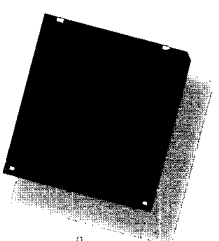

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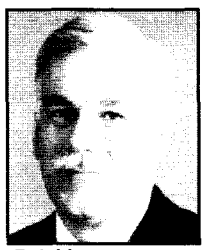
to a final term. He's been a legislator from this area since 1978, having previously served in the Assembly. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 39 (38% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Deirdre Alpert. Republican: Joe Dolphin. Natural Law: Stuart Knoles. All of San Diego.*

Alpert


Dolphin

This portion of San Diego represents another ground zero for Election '96, with battles for this Senate district overlapping with heavily contested races for two Assembly districts (76 and 78) and a congressional seat (49). On paper, SD 39 looks like a comfortable district for Republicans. Voter registration cuts their way; Pete Wilson, Dan Lungren and Michael Huffington all carried it in 1994, and Proposition 187 passed here overwhelmingly. But looks can be deceiving, especially in San Diego, and especially in a district where more than 20 percent of voters register other than Republican or Democrat. For the past seven years, SD 39 and its pre-reapportionment predecessor have been represented by Lucy Killea, a Democrat who became an independent in 1993. Prior to winning a Senate seat, Killea served in the Assembly, where she was succeeded by Alpert, who now is trying to succeed Killea in the upper house. Alpert is no stranger to winning in so-called "bad" districts. Her AD 78 is nested in the 39th, and registration there favors Republicans by an even larger margin. Yet Alpert always has attracted crossover support from Republican voters. She has a motivated and energetic campaign staff, good fund raising and consultant Richie Ross. The 39th's other nested Assembly district is AD 76, where registration between the parties is dead even and which also is represented by a Democratic woman. Still, there is a reason Killea shed the "D" after her name after the 1991 redistricting. Voters here tend to be independent, but not necessarily liberal — as victories for Wilson, Lungren and Huffington indicate. Dolphin is an attractive opponent. He has his own financial resources and an appointed position as president of the state Community Colleges Board of Governors that gives him a platform on education that cancels Alpert's longtime standing as a legislative expert on education. A Republican centrist, he is expected to characterize Alpert as too liberal for the district — a strategy that hasn't worked against her in the past. For instance, in 1994 Alpert opposed Proposition 187, yet won re-election to the Assembly anyway. Both campaigns will rely on television — both network and cable — with as much as $1 million expected to be spent on TV alone. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

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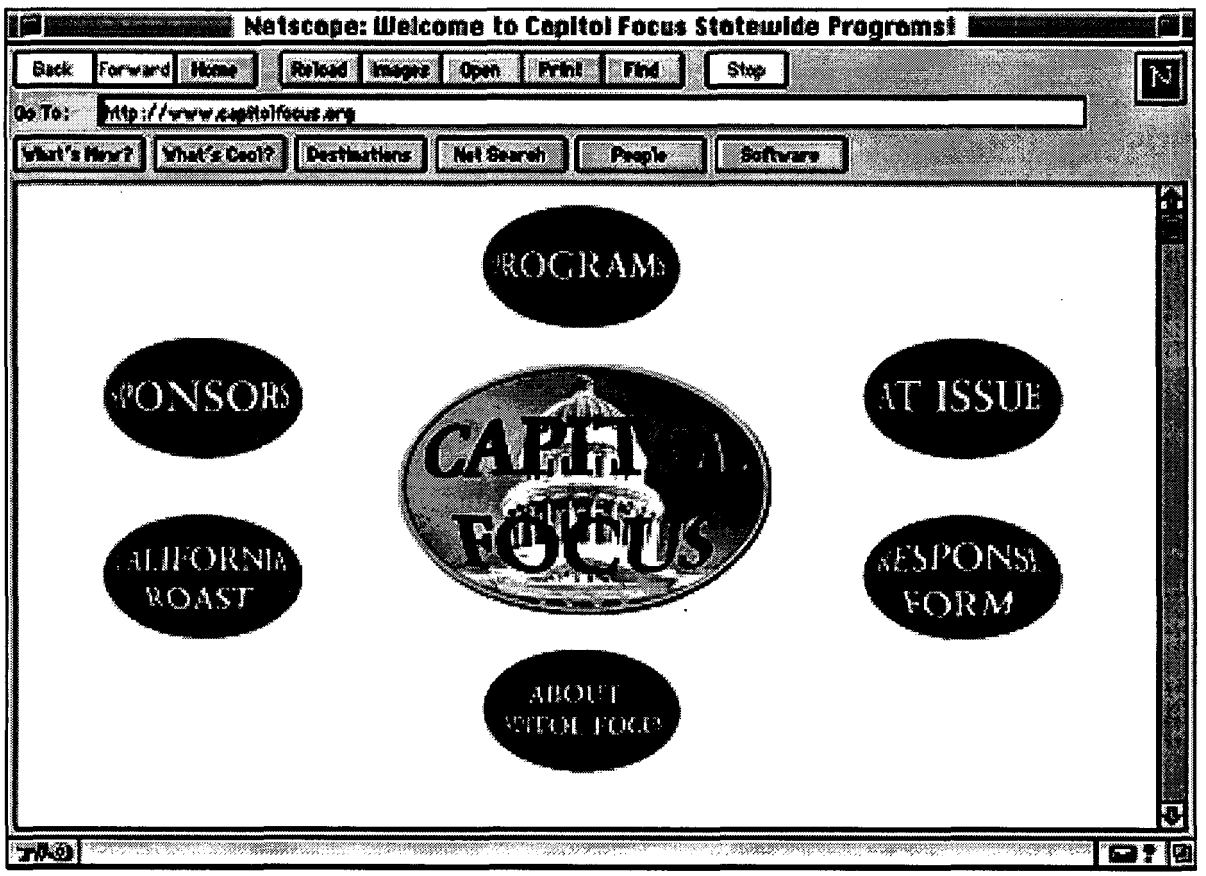

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assembly

District 1 (51% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Virginia Strom-Martin of Duncans Mills. Republican: Margie Handley of Willits. Natural Law: Harry Wrench of Windsor.*

Strom-Martin

Handley

If former Assemblyman and Congressman Doug Bosco had won the primary to succeed Dan Hauser, this district might have been easier for Democrats. Bosco had name recognition and appeal to some Republicans, even if some Democrats didn't like him, and a nascent fund-raising base. But Bosco didn't win, and teacher Strom-Martin, who won the primary largely on the strength of heavy support from the California Teachers Association, has few of these advantages. A political newcomer, she started with low name ID, a small bank account, and little natural base outside of her own party. An early read on the race thus would have indicated problems for the Democrats, despite their seemingly strong registration edge. Compounding matters was the apparent strength of Handley, the GOP candidate. A contractor with plenty of her own money, the pro-choice Handley presents a good fit with both the district's GOP and working-class Democrats. She has some name identification left over from a run at the state Senate, and actually won inside this Assembly district in the low-turnout 1993 Senate special election. And Republicans like her: Governor Pete Wilson has helped raise funds for her in the district, every GOP member of the Assembly has endorsed her, and she has substantial local government support, particularly in the north of the district. When Assembly Democrats realized what was happening — or not happening — they put Strom-Martin on television and radio district wide, introducing her to the mass of voters who had never heard of her. This stopped the unnecessary downhill slide, but the race still will be tough. Handley has been shaking hands at state fairs for more than a year, while Strom-Martin is only a recent entrant into the field. The CTA is likely to back the Democrat heavily, but there is a good chance that the deep-pocketed California Independent Business PAC will come in on behalf of Handley. This will be expensive, and is a must-win for Democrats. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 2 (41% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: John Growney of Red Bluff. Republican: Incumbent Tom Woods of Shasta. Libertarian: Al Swain of Whitmore.*

The sonorous-voiced Woods will be back to sing bass in the Assembly Republican glee club. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 3 (40% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Irene Perry of Oroville. Republican: Incumbent Bernie Richter of Chico.*

Bernie Richter will return to badger and bedevil San Francisco, liberals and all his other enemies. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 4 (38% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Erike Young of Rescue. Republican: Thomas "Rico" Oller of San Andreas.*

Oller earned this seat the old-fashioned way: He blasted all comers out of the water with superior money and organization, and used whatever ammo he could throw, no matter how dirty. A nine-way primary slimmed down early after baseball star Steve Sax pulled out in the wake of ugly rumors about his divorce. This left Placer County Supervisor Kirk Uhler as Oller's chief competition, and the conservative businessman buried his rival under a pile of hard-edged mail — including one blasting the supervisor for serving alcohol to "teen-age girls." The incident in question had been a party Uhler threw long ago at age 20. Oller propelled himself to a comfortable primary win, and since the seat is overwhelmingly Republican, he will go on to replace the term-limited David Knowles. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 5 (42% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Eileen Burke-Trent of Carmichael. Republican: Incumbent Barbara Alby of Fair Oaks.*

Incumbent Alby, who originally lost this seat to the late B.T. Collins, has a firm hold on her district and is expected to easily win re-election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 6 (53% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Kerry Mazzoni of Novato. Republican: David Crockett of Sausalito. Libertarian Mary Jane Clifford of Penngrove. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily of San Rafael.*

Mazzoni has nothing to worry about. Name identification alone isn't going to sweep Crockett into the Legislature. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 7 (54% D - 32% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Valerie Brown of Kenwood. Republican: Ken Larsen of Calistoga. Natural Law: Alan Roy Bareca of Santa Rosa. Peace and Freedom: Al Liner of Santa Rosa.*

Brown is popular in this wine-sipping district and will be back for her third and final term next year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 8 (51% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Helen Thomson of Davis. Republican: Ed Schlenker of Benicia. Libertarian: Harold Helbock of Vacaville.*

Thomson

Schlenker

This is another must-win for Democrats, but shouldn't be a terribly difficult district to hold. Though the region has been growing slowly more Republican over the course of incumbent Tom

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Hannigan's service, it still has a comfortable majority of brand-loyal Democrats. Thomson, a nurse and Yolo County supervisor, is a strong candidate, with good name recognition and solid fund-raising ability. Her opponent, Solano County Supervisor Schlenker, argues that she is too liberal for the district and that he has a larger geographic base than she does, but without substantial Sacramento help he will have a difficult time overcoming the district's GOP gap. Democrats say they have ammunition against Schlenker should he become dangerous, and the tepid response of the Assembly GOP caucus argues that it may not be willing to risk its money here. But a last-minute effort isn't out of the question if Republican coffers are flush. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 9 (62% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Deborah Ortiz. Republican: Richard Davis. Natural Law: Bruce Saunders. Reform: Akili Jaye. All of Sacramento.*

Barring any 11th-hour surprises, the race to fill the Sacramento-based seat of termed-out Assemblyman Phil Isenberg will go to Sacramento City Councilwoman Ortiz. Ortiz survived a tough primary against Sacramento County Supervisor Roger Dickinson, who committed political hara-kiri by putting out a late mailer claiming that the state had filed a lien against Ortiz for unpaid taxes. Turned out to be the wrong Ortiz. Dickinson added insult to injury in an already acrimonious campaign by failing to apologize. The fiasco earned him page-one press, as well as an Election Day editorial denunciation. Oddly enough, the largely unknown Republican Davis garnered some 9000 votes in a three-way Republican primary, having spent a campaign treasury which consisted solely of his filing fee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 10 (44% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Matt Moretti. Republican: Incumbent Larry Bowler. Reform: J. Bolton Phillips. All of Elk Grove.*

Democrat Moretti, an auditor in the state controller's office and the son of the late Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, has some name identification to his benefit. And there is a certain distaste in some quarters for the occasionally bizarre antics of the flamboyant and very conservative incumbent Bowler, a former Sacramento County

Moretti

Bowler

sheriff's lieutenant whom critics say is less than diligent as a legislator and has a tendency to shoot from the hip. But Bowler has strong ties — and campaign funding resources — in his district, where registration is split fairly evenly. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 11 (53% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Tom Torlakson of Antioch. Republican: Bill Maxfield of Pleasant Hill. Natural Law: Eleanor Sheppard of Walnut Creek.*

Contra Costa County Supervisor Torlakson pulled out a squeaker of a victory in his primary race against George Miller, the son of the popular congressman of the same name. The general election is likely to see a little noise from both sides, but Torlakson's most anxious nights are behind him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 12 (59% D - 19% R) — *Democrat: Kevin Shelley. Republican: Terrance Faulkner. Both of San Francisco.*

Shelley will learn that serving on the quarrelsome, faction-ridden San Francisco Board of Supervisors was good practice for being a part of a quarrelsome, faction-ridden Assembly Democratic caucus. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 13 (63% D - 14% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Carole Migden of San Francisco.*

Don't watch the vote totals here, watch where the money goes. In her few months as an assemblywoman, Migden has shown herself to be a power player in the Democratic caucus, and will be a significant part of the statewide election efforts. She is a prolific fund raiser, and will be able to fund struggling campaigns far away from the Golden Gate. Migden's star is rising quickly, and a few hundred grand of well-placed transfers will serve her well in next year's caucus leadership throes. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 14 (69% D - 12% R) — *Democrat: Dion Aroner of Oakland. Republican: William "Sandy" Muir of Berkeley. Green: Hank Chapot of Oakland. Natural Law: Viola Beeson of Berkeley.*

March's chaotic five-way primary gave Aroner, current seatholder Tom Bates' chief of staff, the Democratic nod. That's all that matters here. This is Berkeley, after all. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 15 (37% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Gail Murray. Republican: Lynne Leach. Natural Law: Martin Sproul. All of Walnut Creek.*

Democrats like Murray, and there is a small chance she could receive some help from Sacramento. But it is no more than a small chance. While Leach may be a little more conservative than the district as a whole, she has shown good fund-raising capability, and is a favorite of the deep-pocketed California Independent Business PAC, making any Democratic effort an expensive proposition. While there will be some help from serious efforts in the overlapping state Senate and congressional districts, the financial calculus — not to mention the heavy GOP registration — falls too heavily against Murray to make this a feasible target. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 16 (67% D - 15% R) — *Democrat: Don Perata. Republican: Veronica Acosta. Both of Alameda.*

Perata won this in the primary. But he's still a good fund raiser, and his bank account will be used to other candidates' benefit. Which will further his caucus leadership ambitions, no doubt. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 17 (52% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Mike Machado of Linden. Republican: Sylvia Sun Minnick of Stockton. Libertarian: Tom Kohlhepp of Stockton.*

Although a targeted district by the GOP, Republican Minnick will have a tough time unseating incumbent Machado, who last year survived a specious recall campaign. Machado became something of a martyr in the process and substantially improved his prospects for re-election. As a result of the botched recall, Republicans will have to spend significantly to elect Minnick, a former Stockton city coun-

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Machado

Minnick

cilwoman who received major contributions in the primary from, among others, State Treasurer Matt Fong ($25,000) and Stockton developer/San Diego Chargers owner Alex Spanos ($3500). Still, Machado has his work cut out. Despite a Democratic registration advantage, this is the Central Valley, where Democratic loyalty is supect. A Republican — current Board of Equalizatior member Dean Andal — held this district until 1994, and the local congressman is Republican Richard Pombo — who is safely ensconsed in his Democrat-leaning district as well. If Machado survives, he can thank GOP greed, which manifested in the recall election. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 18 (59% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Michael Sweeney of Hayward*

Go watch something with some suspense. Like a Michael Tyson fight. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 19 (54% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Lou Papan of Millbrae. Republican: James Tucker of Burlingame. Natural Law: Linda Marks of Burlingame.*

Roll out the red carpets, the "Enforcer" — Papan's nickname when he was an assemblyman in the early 1980s — is coming back to town. The veteran of Willie Brown's team has a good argument that he has experience in the leadership, and should therefore jump to the head of the line in caucus leadership politics. Younger, post-term-limit representatives may have some difficulty with the premise. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 20 (49% D - 33% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Liz Figueroa. Republican: Anthony Smith. Both of Fremont.*

This is not necessarily a preordained district for the Democrats. But it's Figueroa's this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 21 (47% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Ted Lempert of Redwood City. Republican: Ted Laliotis of Los Altos. Libertarian: Christopher Inama of Palo Alto. Natural Law: Ron Whitehurst of Palo Alto.*

Lempert's biggest challenges both disappeared before the primary when the Democratic Palo Alto mayor decided to run for county supervisor, and Governor Pete Wilson aide Patrick Shannon decided to go head-to-head with Byron Sher for the state Senate. This left only Los Altos Hills City Councilman Laliotis. His vital stats look good for the independent-minded district — high-tech experience, pro-choice, fiscally conservative but socially moderate — but he lacks the connections and clout that either of the other near-misses would have had. Lempert, who served two terms in the Assembly before losing a congressional bid in 1992, has substantial fund-raising ability and positive name ID in the area for his recent service as a county supervisor. He may be a little to the left of the district, but that's unlikely to hurt him this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 22 (48% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Elaine White Alquist of Santa Clara. Republican: Karin Dowdy of Saratoga. Natural Law: Frank Strutner of Santa Barbara.*

When college trustee Dowdy ran against John Vasconcellos in 1994, she polled 10 points above the district's GOP registration. It wasn't enough to give her a win, but it did boost her name recognition and confidence in planning for 1996. But then along came Alquist, spouse of state Senator Al Alquist, with all the Sacramento money connections and district name ID that entails. Alquist had a tough primary fight, but established that she could raise money quickly and efficiently, could get strong endorsements, and was a good candidate even aside from her husband's help. Assembly Republicans are watching this race, but are unlikely to come in unless district dynamics suddenly shift towards the GOP. So Dowdy is on her own again. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 23 (59% D - 24% R) — *Democrat: Mike Honda. Republican: Lisa Sutton. Both of San Jose.*

Santa Clara County Supervisor Honda took a few blows in the primary, beating back current seatholder Dom Cortese's son David, but it's all downhill from here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 24 (43% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Ed Foglia. Republican: Incumbent Jim Cunneen. Libertarian: Jon Petersen. All of San Jose.*

Though few of the voters in the district know or care, former California

sav•vy (sav'ē) *Slang.* –adj. Practical and perceptive.

po•lit'i•cal•ly sav•vy Someone who attended the FPPC's post-election conference.

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Teachers Association president Ed Foglia has a Perot problem. Facing an uphill battle in November after the CTA endorsed Cunneen, and having some medical problems of his own to wrestle with, he effectively withdrew from the race earlier this year. Then came the primary, where he garnered only 1000 fewer votes than Cunneen without running any campaign whatsoever. The prize snapped back into focus, and before long — certainly with the urging of the Assembly Democratic caucus — he was back in the race. While the on-again, off-again campaign won't change many votes on Election Day, it has helped to put off contributors already predisposed to support the moderate Cunneen, making the Democrat's argument a little more difficult. Making things even more dicey was the CTA's early endorsement of Cunneen over ex-standard-bearer Foglia. The district likes Democrats, but it also likes moderate Republicans, and even if Clinton wins big, this area doesn't necessarily believe in coattails. With the CTA and a raft of pro-education, relatively environment-friendly votes behind him, Cunneen has bona fide moderate credentials, and Foglia will have to struggle to find a rationale for his ouster other than to prevent another Pringle regime. With split registration, this district will never be anybody's sure thing, but Democrats have their work cut out for them. LEANS REPUBLICAN

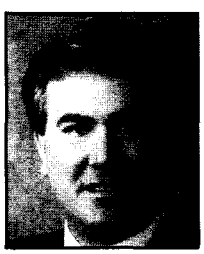
District 25 (45% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Ed Elliott of Modesto. Republican: Incumbent George House of Hughson. Libertarian: Ronard Payne of Madera.*

Elliott

House

Incumbent House, a folksy, "traditional values" ultra-conservative almond farmer and former California Highway Patrol commander, remains popular in his conservative district — despite serious reservations in some quarters about House's right-wing views, which have been circulated in columns about "shadow governments" and "media conspiracies." He won the seat from a Democratic incumbent in the 1994 Republican landslide, despite an 8 percent Democratic edge, which has since shrunk to 2 percent. Challenger Elliott is an optometrist, former president of the American Optometric Association and a clinical professor in the School of Optometry at the University of California in Berkeley, who has been active in Stanislaus County community and business groups. He is often described, even by Republican strategists, as a "good candidate," who nonetheless may be in the wrong district. Democrats are targeting the district, but ousting House will be an uphill battle. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 26 (52% D - 35% R) — *Democrat: Dennis Cardoza of Merced. Republican: Thomas Berryhill of Ceres.*


Cardoza

Berryhill

This contest for the open seat of termed-out Democrat Sal Cannella promises to be one of the most highly competitive, expensive — and potentially nastiest — of the Assembly races. Targeted by both Republicans and Democrats, the district shows a Democratic registration edge but is growing increasingly conservative. Berryhill is involved in the family farming business and enjoys the enormous name recognition of his late father, former state Agriculture director and longtime state Senator Clare Berryhill. But he has virtually no political experience and, opponents say, some potentially troublesome business failures to account for. By the same token, Cardoza, a former Atwater and Merced city councilman and longtime Merced businessman, has his liabilities, including a nasty primary fight and a very public dispute over money with his former campaign manager, as well as embarrassing reports in the primary that female mud-wrestling was a regular feature at a family-owned bowling alley (the feature has since ceased). Cannella, reportedly put off by the primary fight, did not endorse Cardoza in the primary and only recently gave his endorsement for the general. A moderate Democrat married to a family practice physician, Cardoza has a degree in government and politics and worked as an intern for Texas Congressman Martin Frost, later serving on the Assembly and congressional staffs of Democrat Gary Condit, who has thrown his support to Cardoza. Like Berryhill, Cardoza's family roots in the area go way back — his Portuguese immigrant grandparents began farming in Merced County in the 1920s — but his name recognition and ties to the region's big agribusiness are not as strong as Berryhill's. Major GOP fund raising featuring big-ticket Republicans is under way for Berryhill, and Democrats will have to raise major money to compete successfully in this race. As one measure of the importance of the district to both parties, two prominent political consultants — Steve Presson for Berryhill and David Townsend for Cardoza — have been brought on board. TOSS UP

District 27 (50% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Fred Keeley of Santa Cruz. Republican: Jim Davis of Monterey. Natural Law: Sunshine Whitehurst McCarthy of Boulder Creek.*

Keeley

Davis

When Bruce McPherson took this seat into Republican hands in 1993, and kept it there through 1994, it wasn't just luck. McPherson was a moderate, relatively well-known and respected newspaper editor that even Democrats could like. But this set of circumstances is not easily repeatable. Davis, a Monterey County deputy district attorney, has most of the right moderate stances, but has nowhere near the natural base that McPherson had. Santa Cruz County Supervisor Keeley, by contrast, is fairly well-known in nearly two-thirds of the district, has been endorsed by environmental groups, labor, and even some law enforcement, and is proving him-

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self to be an excellent fund raiser. Not to mention being able to take advantage of considerable Democratic resources being mobilized for the overlapping state Senate and congressional races. Most estimates find this seat falling back into its natural Democratic equilibrium, which means the GOP has to scramble to pick up a seat somewhere else in the state. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 28 (52% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Lily Cervantes of Salinas. Republican: Incumbent Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos Libertarian: Mark Hinkle of Morgan Hill.*

Cervantes

Frusetta

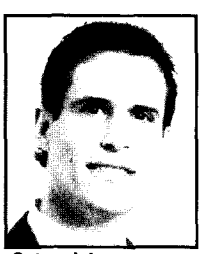
Somewhere in the middle of this largely rural, agricultural district live the few thousand or so voters who likely will determine who controls the Assembly next year. If Frusetta loses, it will be difficult for Republicans to pick up the 41 seats they need. And Democrats think that Frusetta, who beat Cervantes by barely 700 votes in 1994, is the Republicans' weakest incumbent. The district's numbers look good for Cervantes, who has strengthened her position with an "assistant district attorney" ballot designation this year. Democratic registration is high, and aside from 1994 Democratic candidates have polled strongly up and down the ticket. Another plus is that more than 5000 Latinos have registered as Democrats since 1994, a group that is likely to vote in large numbers for Cervantes. Democratic turnout was low among women and minorities in 1994, and if she can bring this vote out, it also will probably cut more than 700 votes her way. But Cervantes is far from an ideal candidate. She is not a prolific fund raiser, having relied on the good graces of the Democratic and Latino caucuses in the past. She was widely viewed as having run a lackluster campaign in 1994, and though locals say she is fully committed this year, some bitterness remains. And Republicans trumpet the fact that while her name ID is high, she is viewed negatively by a relatively large portion of the people who know her. Frusetta, on the other hand, has done a fairly good job at maintaining the image as a plain-spoken, independent "citizen-legislator" that brought him to the statehouse last time around. Democrats will do their best to assail this portrait, bringing up reams of quotes portraying the incumbent as ineffectual and too conservative for the district, but Republicans will have all the money they need to turn back the attacks. While Frusetta was badly outspent the last time around, the resource gap is likely to fall on Cervantes' side this year. Both campaigns will benefit from the mint being spent on a local state Senate race, though this will probably help underdog Cervantes a little more. Ultimately, the race will be decided on whether Democrats can get out their vote and keep it on Cervantes' side. Frusetta won some Democratic support last time around. That can't happen again if Democrats want control of the Assembly. TOSS-UP

District 29 (41% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Mike McGonigle of Fresno. Republican: Incumbent Charles "Chuck" Poochigian of Fresno. Natural Law: Nancy Adalian of Visalia.*

This longtime Republican seat is held by one of the most highly regarded new members of the Assembly, incumbent Poochigian, who chairs the powerful Assembly Appropriations Committee and was recently named one of two "Rookies of the Year" by the *California Journal*. He is well-financed and confident of re-election, enough to share his campaign war chest with other GOP Assembly candidates. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 30 (53% D - 35% R) — *Republican: Robert Prenter of Hanford.*

Prenter



Setencich

It is odd when a one-person ballot bears a flame, but everything in AD 30 has been odd this year. There is a heated contest because of a name that is not on the ballot — incumbent Republican Brian Setencich, the maverick who has been *persona non grata* with GOP leadership ever since consorting with Democrats late last year to get himself elected speaker in the wake of the recall of former Speaker Doris Allen. That put Setencich high on the GOP revenge list, and major GOP money — $230,000 in the final weeks — came pouring into the primary campaign of political unknown Prenter, a medical supply salesman whose uncle, Christian radio network owner Edward Atsinger III, is a co-founder of the formidable California Independent Business PAC. The 11th hour money financed a spate of nasty mailers targeting Setencich as a "traitor" to the Republican Party who had made "public attacks on Christians and those who want to restore moral values to society." Setencich, who said he was blindsided, was criticized for not waging a more vigorous campaign in the primary, which he lost by 500 votes. There was no Democratic candidate. After complaining bitterly about the viciousness and duplicity of politics and licking his wounds, Setencich announced he would be a write-in — a long shot even with his district popularity and high name recognition. While Prenter discounts his carpetbagger image — he moved to Visalia from Southern California — and says he expects no more money from his uncle's PAC, major infusions of GOP cash are expected for his campaign. Setencich, who got Atsinger money in 1994, insists he is running hard and that voters dislike the notion of outsiders running their affairs, capitalizing on what he calls the "Orange County power grab." Democrat Linda Morales also is waging a write-in campaign, but has virtually no name recognition. Bottom line: Prenter's is the only name on the ballot; if voters remember to write in the better known Setencich, they will also have to remember how to spell his name. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 31 (59% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Cruz Bustamante of Fresno. Republican: Nathan Short of Visalia. Libertarian: Joseph Peacock II of Dinuba. Natural Law: Joni Mamicki of Reedley.*

No contest for incumbent Bustamante in this heavily Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

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District 32 (39% D - 49% R) — *Democrat: John Hulpke. Republican: Roy Ashburn. Both of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Steve Zinn of Bakersfield.*

Conservative Kern County Supervisor Roy Ashburn, who has been campaigning for more than a year and has high name recognition, beat back a reasonably strong moderate Republican challenger in the primary by more than 5,000 votes, and is expected to win easily in the general, bringing his anti-abortion, pro-school voucher positions, popular in this conservative Central Valley district, to join the current conservative majority in the state Legislature. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 33 (40% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Betty Sanders of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Incumbent Tom Bordonaro Jr. of Paso Robles. Libertarian: Gary Kirkland of Atascadero. Natural Law: Katherine Baker of Atascadero.*

Put your hands together for today's winner and champeen: Tom Bordonaro for a second year in a row. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 34 (37% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Lionel Dew of Victorville. Republican: Incumbent Keith Olberg of Victorville.*

Freshman Olberg has earned kudos from Capitol denizens as a hard-working, thoughtful legislator who should breeze to his second term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 35 (45% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Aneesh Kaustubh Lele of Goleta. Republican: Incumbent Brooks Firestone of Santa Barbara. Natural Law: Miriam Hospodar of Carpinteria.*

Firestone, a winemaker and tire company heir, recently sent University of California, Santa Barbara student Lele a bottle of wine for his 21st birthday. It's a good district for Democrats, but they fell a little short with their candidate recruitment this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 36 (34% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: David Cochran of Santa Clarita. Republican: George Runner of Lancaster.*

Runner, the mayor of Lancaster, won a surprisingly easy victory over three GOP primary competitors, two of whom were former Los Angeles sheriff's deputies who also had local government experience. The only primary candidate to receive a formal endorsement from Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle, Runner rode a fund-raising edge and good name recognition to victory. Runner is about as conservative as they come: pro-gun, pro-vouchers, and opposed to abortion rights. Those stands put him well in the mainstream which, despite the creeping encroachment of suburbia, remains relatively rural in temperment. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 37 (39% D - 44% R) — *Democrat: Jess Herrera. Republican: Incumbent Nao Takasugi. Both of Oxnard.*

Although he's generally regarded as a courtly moderate, Takasugi has shown a streak of partisanship since the GOP took control of the Assembly. He weathered a nominal primary challenge in March and should have an easy ride toward his third and final Assembly term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 38 (39% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: John Lauritzen of Chatsworth. Republican: Tom McClintock of Simi Valley. Natural Law: Virginia Neuman of Fillmore.*

After two unsuccessful runs at higher office, McClintock is headed back to the Assembly, where he earned a reputation as a thorn in the sides of leadership in both parties. A fiscal wonk with a Libertarian streak, McClintock jumped into the already-crowded race to succeed termed-out Assemblywoman Paula Boland at the last minute. His entry prompted the withdrawal of Boland's district chief-of-staff, but left five other Republicans, all of whom had some money to spend. Having lived most of the last two years in Sacramento, and having represented only a sliver of the district in his previous terms, McClintock was assailed as a carpetbagger by opponents. The tack might have worked had there been a unified anti-McClintock candidate, but with the GOP vote spread so thin, name recognition alone figured to give McClintock the edge and it did. The GOP registration edge makes the result in November a foregone conclusion, and the big question now is whether Speaker Pringle and Governor Wilson are anticipating McClintock's arrival or dreading it. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 39 (61% D - 25% R) — *Democrat: Tony Cardenas of Mission Hills. Republican: Ollie McCaulley of Sylmar.*

Another Valley race in which the main action took place in the primary. Cardenas' success in the race to succeed termed-out Assemblyman Richard Katz was the top priority for Los Angeles' influential Latino political leadership, and his victory in a relatively crowded field was surprisingly easy. While the support of the Latino leadership was helpful, Cardenas also had strong local ties and enough business support to keep from being tagged as too liberal. McCaulley will offer little resistance in the fall, and Cardenas is being counted on to help other, less comfortable Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 40 (55% D - 30% R) — *Democrat: Bob Herzberg of Sherman Oaks. Republican: H.R. "Ron" Culver of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys. Natural Law: David Cossak of North Hollywood.*

Hertzberg, an attorney, businessman, and perennial Democratic player, decisively stomped city council staffer Fran Oschin in the primary to replace term-limited Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman. With a virtually uncontested November campaign, Hertzberg is being counted on to direct his substantial excess resources toward more vulnerable Democrats. Hertzberg, by all accounts, is on the program and figures to be a force in leadership discussions come December, especially if the Democrats take control of the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 41 (49% D - 36% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Sheila Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Mark Boos Benhard of Calabasas. Libertarian: Phil Baron of Tarzana. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Malibu. Natural Law: Marya Small of Santa Monica.*

Four years ago, Republicans saw opportunity in this district's registration numbers and dumped money into a hopeless challenge to then-incumbent Terry Friedman, who cruised to reelection. This year, some GOP sources are again making noises about taking on a liberal incumbent, but the district's voting history only adds to the dubiousness of the enterprise. Feinstein, Clinton, and Boxer all finished well ahead of

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Kuehl

Benhard

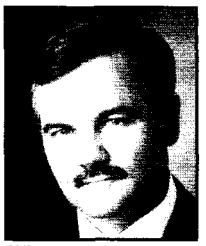
Democratic registration, and Kuehl, who made no secret of either her liberalism or her open lesbianism, won by 15 points in a Republican year. Businessman Benhard hails from a corner of the district, and, like past competitors, figures to go after the more suburban voters in the Woodland Hills, San Fernando Valley side of the district, hitting the crime issue. Even those more conservative voters, though, have shown themselves to have a Democratic bent, and Kuehl also boasts the show-biz connection from her previous life as Zelda on the old "Dobie Gillis" program. Whether the talk of taking on Kuehl is serious or a feint to keep her from distributing resources elsewhere, there probably isn't enough money in the world to keep Kuehl from returning to Sacramento. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 42 (58% D - 25% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Wally Knox of Los Angeles. Republican: Adam Ross of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Eric Michael Fine of Beverly Hills. Natural Law: Herbert Paul of Beverly Hills.*

Knox figures to be in the middle of the Democratic leadership maneuvering come December, and is already selectively interjecting his influence outside his district. With only token opposition in the fall, Knox will be another member being counted on to help fund more competitive races. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 43 (44% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Scott Wildman of Los Angeles. Republican: John Geranios of Burbank. Libertarian: Willard Michlin of Los Angeles.*

One of two competitive Assembly races nestled in the same area with heated congressional and Senate campaigns, this race would get at least some reflected attention even if it were not an open seat itself. Although the area's been represented by Republicans since dirt was new, the four-point GOP registration edge at the start of the decade has been flipped around. The district is, in fact, more Democratic than it was four years ago when it narrowly supported Barbara Boxer over Bruce Herschensohn in 1992. Still, the seat is conservative enough that incumbent James Rogan's decision to run for Congress attracted a primary crowded with local Republican wannabes. In the end, Republican voters gave the nod to recent arrival Geranios, a self-funded import from whom spilled 24 primary mailers. The head of a college prepara-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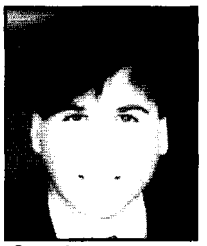
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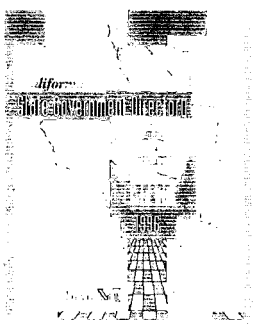

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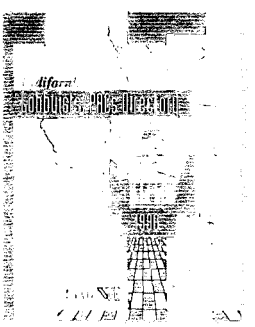

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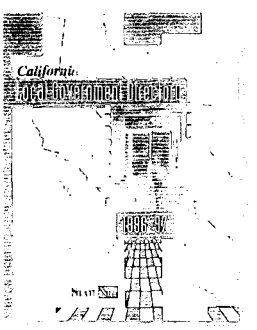

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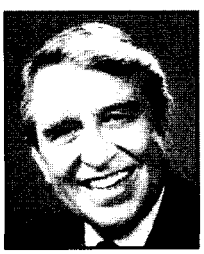
tion service, Geranios touts his educational credentials and has collected an array of local GOP ensorsements, in anticipation of the same carpetbagging rap he weathered in the primary. Wildman, who was unopposed on the Democratic side, is a labor representative with the United Teachers of Los Angeles, a credit guaranteed to stoke the GOP's anti-union fires. His background and endorsement list seem made-to-order for the almost- cliche anti-liberal campaign, but Wildman claims some important Republican supporters, particularly in the city of Glendale. In the end, though, Wildman's credentials will likely matter less than his bank account. Geranios didn't flinch about dropping half a million of his own money in the primary, and though he's raising money elsewhere for the general, the checkbook remains open. Wildman is energetic and articulate, but the performance of the district and his less overwhelming fund raising could knock the race down a peg or two on the list of seats for which there will be help from the cash-lean Democratic caucus. Wildman's camp hints about their opponent's possible vulnerabilities, but those vulnerabilities, if they exist, won't matter without the werewithal to exploit them. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 44 (44% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Jack Scott of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent Bill Hoge of South Pasadena. Libertarian: Ted Brown of San Gabriel.*


Scott

Hoge

Like the 43rd, this suburban district has been trending the Democrats' way in registration, but its voting habits have been pretty reliable for the Republicans and the race boasts a two-term incumbent. This would seem to indicate an fairly easy ride for the GOP. But Bill Hoge is not an ordinary incumbent. He won election to the Legislature in 1992 only after a divisive primary and a rather anemic general-election performance. His career has been marked by close alliances with racing and gaming interests, even though there's no race track in the district, and some embarassing personal issues attracted unwelcome publicity in the district. Democrats made a run at him two years ago, with former Pasadena police chief Bruce Philpott. The candidate proved more promising on paper than in real life, however, and Hoge won by a fairly comfortable margin. This spring, he had to fend off two primary challengers, another sure sign of trouble at home. This year, Democrats believe they have the candidate to do the trick in Scott, the retired former president of Pasadena City College. A drawling, user-friendly former Texan, Scott brings a compelling personal tale to the issue of gun violence, having recently lost a son to a handgun accident. Unlike Philpott, Scott has proven to be an energetic precinct-walker and an effective fund raiser, having amassed more than a quarter of a million dollars so far. Put it all together and you have one of the two or three best opportunities in the state for the Democrats to take out a Republican incumbent. But if 1994 proved anything, it was that overconfidence is risky. Hoge also figures to raise and spend mass quantities and, like two years ago, will likely be able to count on whatever caucus resources are needed to protect a vulnerable incumbent. Hoge's financial numbers are matched with the cold, hard facts about the district's undeniably conservative voting proclivities. Despite Scott's business support and image of pragmatism, Republicans are likely to throw the "L" word — liberal — at him with drone-like repetition. Breaking through that characterization will require an awful lot of cash, and given the Democrats' relatively thin resources, Scott may have to do most of the work himself. Still, this could be one case where, in a presidential year, Democrats stand a better chance of nabbing the seat by taking on a weak incumbent than by waiting until Hoge terms out in '98 and risk facing a less vulnerable Republican in a non-presidential year. TOSS-UP

District 45 (62% D - 21% R) — *Democrat: Antonio Villaraigosa. Peace and Freedom: J. Luis Gomez. Both of Los Angeles.*

Villaraigosa figures to be in the thick of the Democratic leadership maneuvering this winter. He upended a candidate backed by king-making Senator Richard Polanco two years ago, but has since made his peace with Polanco and spent much of the last year dropping seeds in the media and elsewhere. Republicans didn't even bother to field a candidate against him this time out. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 46 (64% D - 19% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Louis Caldera. Republican: Andrew Kim. Both of Los Angeles.*

Once considered a leadership prospect, Caldera is less of a force in Sacramento these days, but still a lock at home. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 47 (73% D - 13% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Kevin Murray of Culver City. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City.*

Murray plays the insider game as well as anyone in Sacramento, and also knows elections, having managed the slate mailer established by his father, termed-out Assemblyman Willard Murray. But his family's political fortunes faultered when Willard lost his congressional bid and sister Melinda lost her race for Assembly. Kevin has made no secret of his leadership ambitions and nothing that happens this November will staunch those ambitions. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 48 (82% D - 5% R) — *Democrat: Rod Wright of Los Angeles.*

The departure of term-limited incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson sparked a primary free-for-all that pitted one local Democratic power center against another. Wright had the backing of Rep. Maxine Waters, for whom he has served as district director, as well as the slate-mail operation of Assemblyman Willard Murray. Latino leaders, among them Senator Richard Polanco, weighed in on behalf of former Waters legislative aide Bob Campbell. The involvement of Polanco was a tip toward the steadily-growing Latino population in the district, but neither Campbell nor late-filing former Los Angeles Councilman Bob Farrell could make much headway. Despite running in a seven-person race, Wright still got more than 50 percent of the vote. Wright's reward for all that hard work is a general election in which he doesn't even face token opposition. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

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District 49 (59% D - 25% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Diane Martinez. Republican: Jay Imperial. Both of Rosemead.*

If you're looking for a politician who doesn't care what people in Sacramento think of her, look no further than Martinez, who can be just as tart with her Democratic allies as she is with those across the aisle. Fortunately for Martinez, the election is held in her district and not among her colleagues in the Legislature. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 50 (67% D - 18% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Martha Escutia of Huntington Park. Republican: Gladys Miller of Bell Gardens.*

Escutia struggled out of a sickbed last year to cast the deciding vote in favor of Doris Allen as Assembly Speaker. Allen's doomed speakership is a fading memory, but Escutia—her health restored—will be back for another term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 51 (67% D - 17% R) — *Democrat: Edward Vincent of Inglewood. Republican: Anthony Clarke of Los Angeles.*

The Democratic primary to fill termed-out Assemblyman Curtis Tucker's seat was pointed and lively, with a variety of cross-cutting dynamics. Vincent, the mayor of Inglewood and an ally of Representative Maxine Waters, viewed his main competition as water board member Mark Dymally, the son of former Representative Mervyn Dymally. As if the battle between the Waters and Dymally power centers wasn't enough, there was also a third candidate, Thomasina Reed, who positioned herself as the woman running against two men. That tactic helped Reed slip past Dymally for second place, but Vincent had the edge in fund raising, connections and, ultimately, votes. Vincent has only token opposition in an urban Los Angeles County stronghold. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 52 (75% D - 11% R) — *Democrat: Carl Washington of Compton. Republican: Robert Pullen-Miles of Gardena.*

Term-limited incumbent Willard Murray tried to lateral this seat to his daughter Melinda, but Washington ran a better campaign and seemed to want it more. Currently a deputy to Los Angeles County Supervisor Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Washington is also an ordained minister with a record of community activism. His was the only success enjoyed by local Latino leadership in their head-to-head tussles with the African-American faction headed by Maxine Waters. The race was all in the primary, as Pullen-Miles will give Washington little trouble this fall. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 53 (42% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Debra Bowen of Marina Del Rey. Republican: Dan Walker of Torrance.*

Bowen

Walker

It is possible, without casting any aspersions on her competence or ability, to conclude that luck has played a pivotal role in Bowen's ability to get and keep her seat in this GOP-tilted beachside district. In 1992, she was able to run in the center against a hard-right candidate — Brad Parton — who was too conservative for the district. In '94, she lucked out when the GOP failed to come up with anything more than token opposition. Even then, the "token" held her to 51 percent of the vote. This year, the GOP has brought out the long knives, with one GOP target book branding her "the most vulnerable incumbent in the Assembly." Even so, Bowen's luck appears to be holding. The candidate whom Republican poobahs had annointed as Bowen's executioner — Mervyns department store heir John Morris — parachuted in from Beverly Hills with plenty of his own money to spend. But Morris' easy ride was interrupted by Walker, a longtime Torrance councilman who had lost to Parton in the '92 GOP primary. Walker flat outhustled Morris, who was content to do most of his talking through the mail. Boasting the support of former Governor George Deukmejian, Walker raised enough money to mount his own substantial mail campaign, targeting Morris' carpetbagging into the district. Bowen's camp views Walker's victory as good news. Not only do they face a less deep-pocketed opponent, but Walker's 25 years in local government blunts any outsider campaign he might run and provides a voting record that can be plumbed for weaknesses. Bowen, however, has a voting record of her own. The Walker campaign plans to use that record to paint Bowen as a "faux maverick" who talks like a moderate but votes like a liberal. Unlike Parton, Walker is a moderate on social issues, so Bowen will have less traction attacking him as an ultra-right winger. Despite not being their first choice, the GOP power players are on board, as are most district Republicans, and Walker should have whatever he needs to make the race. As a vulnerable incumbent, Bowen will be at or near the top of the Democrats' priority list as well. Although Republican on paper, the district is decidedly independent in its voting habits, with almost 13 percent of its voters registerd as "decline to state." It also likes women, having supported both Dianne Feinstein in 1994 and Barbara Boxer in 1992, as well as Bowen in her two previous runs. The fact that it's a presidential year should help Bowen, especially if she can bring back women voters, who dropped off in substantially greater numbers in 1994 than did men. Walker, however, showed in the primary that he has the resources, and the drive, to go toe-to-toe right up to election day. TOSS-UP

District 54 (45% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Gerrie Schipske of Long Beach. Republican: Incumbent Steve Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes.*

Schipske

Kuykendall

If you were to survey Democrats in the Assembly about which Republican incumbent they'd most like to take out this year, the winner would probably be Kuykendall. It isn't anything personally against the affable incumbent. It's not even the fact that he squeaked by one-term incumbent Betty Karnette by less than a thousand votes two years ago—after all, Karnette got the seat by

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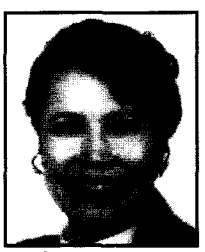
ambushing GOP incumbent Gerald Felando. No, what Democrats dislike about Kuykendall was *how* he won—with a $125,000 assist from tobacco giant Philip Morris. The check, which paid for some eleventh-hour mailers, was cashed in the closing days of the campaign, thus avoiding detection on any radar screens until after the election. Kuykendall, whose victory wasn't confirmed until absentee votes were counted, became the 41st Assembly Republican, guaranteeing the eventual dislodging of then-Speaker Willie Brown, who himself had taken more tobacco money than any other elected official in the country. Whether their outrage was based on anti-smoking principle or mere resentment at being double-crossed by the tobacco conglomerate, many Democrats are vowing revenge. Their hopes in that regard rest with Schipske, a registered nurse and health-care attorney who is also a past president of the Long Beach City College Board of Trustees. Schipske weathered a primary that turned unexpectedly nasty at the end, when her opponent sought to make an issue of Schipske's status as an open lesbian. Kuykendall, unopposed in the primary, is not expected to make a direct issue of Schipske's sexual preference, but there's always that other "L" word — liberal — to toss into the mix. Like the neighboring 53rd, this district's voters have an independent streak, and Kuykendall may be as likely to point out his differences with the Republican caucus as his similarities. Schipske, meanwhile, is already milking the tobacco angle for all it's worth, and she's been given a boost by President Clinton's recent high-profile criticisms of big tobacco. The district itself has not been especially hospitable to Democrats in the past, and the registration is good for the GOP. Schipske will benefit, though, from the overlapping Senate race, in which Karnette is running. If it's a really good Democratic year, and Karnette maintains her early strength, she could help Schipske's medium-to-long shot candidacy—a sweet irony for Karnette to be sure. As with all Democrats this year, though, the issue is money. There's only so much of it to go around, and initiatives and more competitive races are siphoning away resources that might otherwise come Schipske's way. Although some private polling shows her within within striking distance, Schipske may be on her own unless she can prove she's still close come mid-October. The narrowness of Kuykendall's 1994 victory and the quirkiness of the district's voters make it tough to call, but the challenger is clearly the one with her work cut out for her. TOSS-UP

District 55 (65% D - 19% R) — *Democrat: Richard Floyd of Wilmington. Republican: Ronald Hayes of Long Beach.*

Lock the windows, bolt the doors, and hustle the kids off the street — Dick Floyd is coming back to the Assembly. The etiquette-challenged ex-lawmaker easily outpolled three other Democrats in the primary to win certain election to the same seat which he had failed to win four years ago. At that time, Floyd and ex-assemblyman Dave Elder were both reapportioned into the same district, and their nasty grudge match allowed Juanita McDonald to slip past them unnoticed. McDonald, who is now in Congress, tried to pass the seat off to her son Keith, but Floyd's name recognition was more than enough to win it, and he no doubt particularly relished knocking off McDonald's kid. Floyd seems ready to get back to the job of tormenting Assembly Republicans. The question is, are the uninitiated Assembly Republicans ready for Dick Floyd? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 56 (49% D - 37% R) — *Democrat: Sally Havice of Cerritos. Republican: Richard Lambros of Bellflower. Libertarian: Arthur Hays of Long Beach.*


Havice

Lambros

If ever a case were to be made that voter registration counts for little in elections, this blue-collar district in southern Los Angeles County is Exhibit A. The ratio of Democrats-to-Republicans is almost exactly the same here as it is in the Santa Monica-based 41st District. But while that district has elected liberals like Terry Friedman and Sheila Kuehl, the Democrats here are of the Reagan variety. Two years ago, Huffington outpolled Feinstein by 14 points, and perennially beseiged Democratic incumbent Bob Epple was stomped by conservative Republican Phil Hawkins. Despite the urging of some within his party, Hawkins gave up the relatively safe seat for a state Senate run, opening up competitive primaries on both sides. The GOP campaign was the nastier of the two, with Lambros, a lobbyist with the Orange County Apartment Association, besting three other contenders. Lambros enjoyed crucial early support from several Orange County apartment owners, as well as from Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt, and withstood a late charge from Norwalk physician Daniel Wong. Havice, the president of the ABC School District board, rode local name recognition to an easier victory over Michael Vicencia, the son of former Assemblyman Frank Vicencia. Havice, a Latina by background and an English professor by trade, enjoys broad support among Los Angeles' Latino leadership, as well as in the education community. The school district whose board she heads, however, flirted with bankruptcy some time ago and critics claim its teacher pay scale is too high—both issues that could blunt Havice's natural advantage on the education issue. The campaign against Lambros will spotlight his ties to the Orange County GOP establishment, and try to convince voters that voting for him is like voting for your landlord. Once again, the financial edge is with the Republican — Lambros can self-fund to some extent, and can count on plenty of help from his buddies in Orange County. The Assembly Republican Caucus should also pitch in, as this is the sort of seat they need to hold on to if they are to retain their majority. Like Schipske in the 54th, Havice will benefit from the overlap with the well-funded Senate campaign of Betty Karnette, as well as from the fact that it's a presidential year. She also figures to be helped by slowly increasing Latino registration. But the district's blue-collar whites still predominate among likely voters, and Havice will need help — either from Lambros or from Sacramento — if she's to beat the odds. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 57 (56% D - 29% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Martin Gallegos of El Monte. Republican: Jim Kleinpell of Hacienda Heights.*

Gallegos is a reliably Democratic legislative vote, not surprising for some-

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one who hails from so reliably Democratic a district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 58 (62% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Albert Nunez of Whittier. Libertarian: John P. McCready of Whittier.*

An even more reliable Democratic vote from an even more reliably Democratic district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 59 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Brent Decker of Monrovia. Republican: Incumbent Bob Margett of Monrovia.*

The winner of last year's special election to fill out Richard Mountjoy's Assembly term, Margett wasn't quite clear on the concept when he first arrived, suggesting briefly that he might throw his support behind then-Speaker Doris Allen. When he was given the book and told which page to turn to, Margett quickly learned how to be a team player. If the GOP loses its majority this year, it won't be his fault. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

District 60 (43% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Susan Amaya of Walnut. Republican: Incumbent Gary Miller.*

After an expensive loss to Richard Mountjoy in a 1994 state Senate race, Miller eased into the Assembly on the coattails of rogue Republican Paul Horcher's recall. This year, he became the first freshman ever to be named to chair the Assembly's powerful Budget committee. That job will be far more taxing than anything he will need to do to win re-election this November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 61 (45% D - 42% R) — *Democrat: Paul Avila of Ontario. Republican: Incumbent Fred Aguiar of Ontario. Libertarian: Michael Pilch of Pomona.*

Democrats have been rumbling about placing Aguiar, the speaker pro tem, on their target list. But the incumbent ran 20 points ahead of registration in 1994 and, even discounting for that year's GOP tide, should have no trouble winning his third and final term in the lower house. There is almost no anecdotal evidence that a Democrat can carry the district for it has voted solidly Republican in statewide races all through the 1990s. Only Bill Clinton won here in 1992, and even he attracted less than 40 percent of the vote. Avila, a member of the Ontario-Montclair School Board, is an attractive candidate, but if Democrats do end up spending some money on him, it will indicate one thing: They have more money than they know what to do with. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 62 (57% D - 31% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Glenn Elssmann of Loma Linda.*

Republicans have made early gestures about taking out two-term incumbent Baca in a November upset, with Loma Linda Councilman Elssmann, a sixth grade teacher, as their instrument. Their campaign will try to portray Baca as too liberal for the district, which has charted a somewhat uneven course across the electoral landscape over the years. It voted for Pete Wilson both in 1990 and 1994, and for Dan Lungren in

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1994. But it also voted for Lungren's opponent in 1990, for Dianne Feinstein in '94 and Barbara Boxer in '92. Bill Clinton beat George Bush here nearly two-to-one in 1992. Baca himself increased his share of the vote in 1994 despite the Republican tide. Unless Assembly Republicans decide to throw substantial funds at this race, which remains a possibility given the overflow in their campaign larder, there is little chance that Baca's quiet Assembly career won't extend to a third and final term. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 63 (39% D - 48% R) — *Democrat: Wilma Strinati of Highland. Republican: William Leonard of Upland.*

With GOP Assemblyman Jim Brulte termed out, an open seat developed in this Republican corner of the Inland Empire. It remained open for a nanosecond, which was about as long as it took veteran lawmaker Bill Leonard to decide that he wanted to continue his legislative career beyond 1996, when he, too, is termed out of the state Senate. Leonard was first elected to the Assembly in 1978, where he served for a decade before moving over to the Senate. Brulte, on the other hand, is running for the Senate seat now held by Leonard. Thus, the first term-limits era seat swap. By moving from the upper to lower house, Leonard likely is the vanguard of what could be a trend among termed-out senators. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 64 (42% D - 45% R) — *Democrat: Grace Slocum. Republican: Rod Pacheco. Libertarian: Phil Turner. All of Riverside.*

Incumbent Republican Ted Weggeland decided to leave the Assembly two years before term limits would have ousted him, thus opening up a Riverside-based seat that leans GOP. Democrat Slocum, a Riverside Community College trustee, easily won a three-way primary, but she faces an uphill struggle this fall. Although the district itself has been competitive in the past, cash-strapped Democrats in Sacramento likely will not have the resources to aid her cause. The reason they may be reluctant to spend here is the presence of Pacheco, a pro-choice deputy district attorney who brushed off four opponents to win a hard-fought March primary. Pacheco, who hasn't lost a criminal case in Riverside County for more than a decade, combined impeccable law-and-order credentials with a hefty contribution from the California Teachers' Association to snuff out a strong primary challenge from conservative Verne Lauritzen, who had been backed by the likes of Senator Ray Haynes and Assemblyman Bruce Thompson. Had Lauritzen won, he may have drawn Democratic fire come November. Pacheco won't, especially after corraling the endorsement of local Democratic icon Bob Presley. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 65 (39% D - 47% R) — *Democrat: Shirley Morton of Calimesa. Republican: Incumbent Brett Granlund of Yucaipa. Natural Law: Douglas Wallack of Moreno Valley.*

Democrats talk about making a run at Granlund this year, but talk is cheap. Running a campaign in this kind of district isn't. Nearly half the registered voters are Republicans, and they show a consistent loyalty toward the party. Pete Wilson carried the 65th by 35 points in his '94 re-election bid, and U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington beat incumbent Dianne Feinstein here by 27 points. Granlund, a former Yucaipa councilman, won big as well for what at the time was an open seat. As a rookie, Granlund was given the chairmanship of the Assembly Health Committee but his overall performance as a legislator is considered lackluster. Still, Democrats would have to throw several hundred thousand dollars at Morton, a Calimesa councilwoman, and most of that cash would have to come from Sacramento given that her own fund-raising effort has failed to produce the kind of bankroll required to oust an incumbent Republican in a heavily GOP district. Still, last-second ambushes do occur in legislative politics, and this might be one place where Democrats will lay in the weeds, waiting for statewide momentum and a sudden influx of cash. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 66 (33% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Patsy Hockersmith of Corona. Republican: Incumbent Bruce Thompson of Temecula. Libertarian: Bill Reed of Perris.*

No presidential coattail in the universe is long enough to carry a Democrat to victory in this district. Freshman Thompson gets to be a sophomore. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 67 (33% D - 51% R) — *Democrat: Cliff Brightman of Fountain Valley. Republican: Incumbent Scott Baugh of Huntington Beach. Reform: Donald Rowe of Los Alamitos.*

Republican Baugh has suffered through what could be charitably called an "interesting" freshman year after replacing the recalled former speaker, Republican Doris Allen, last December. Baugh wasn't two seconds into his term when an Orange County grand jury indicted him on a rash of felony and misdemeanor charges stemming from the financing of this recall-driven candidacy. Most of those charges were dismissed in mid-September thanks to the way the district attorney presented evidence to the grand jury, but the incumbent still must face trial on one felony and four misdemeanor counts before the election. Meanwhile, GOP voters expressed some displeasure with Baugh by giving him just 50 percent of the primary vote. Fortunately for Baugh, two other candidates split the remaining 50 percent. Democrats talk about targeting Baugh, but the registration figures here are too daunting — indictments, or no indictments. Baugh may not serve a full term of his own, but it won't be because Democrats beat him in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 68 (40% D - 46% R) — *Democrat: Audrey Gibson. Republican: Incumbent Curt Pringle. Both of Anaheim.*

Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle's battles are elsewhere, and they are as personal as they are institutional. In San Diego, Fresno, Palo Alto, Watsonville, Santa Cruz, the North Coast, suburban Los Angeles — anywhere a GOP incumbent is threatened, or an open seat now held by a Republican is vulnerable to pilferage — Pringle must wage war with his reputation firmly on the line. With 41 votes in his caucus, he can ill-afford to misstep, for an error in any venue potentially translates into loss of the house and, therefore, the speakership. Only with control of the house can he and his caucus fashion a Republican platform for the critical elections of 1998 and 2000. Pringle has consolidated control over his caucus fund-raising and campaign efforts, and he now must translate that control into victory. And then, there is the personal side. His speakership was made possible by victories engineered by some-

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one else — Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga, who cast a long and deep shadow over Pringle's first year as speaker. Although Pringle was seen as major domo for the caucus' policy making operation, many continued to look to Brulte for political insight, which couldn't help but rankle Pringle and his minions. As a result, Pringle needs to return a Republican majority to the Assembly in this election or risk having his speakership forever demeaned as the incidental byproduct of Brulte's talent. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 69 (54% D - 34% R) — *Democrat: Lou Correa of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Jim Morrissey of Anaheim. Natural Law: Larry Engwall of Santa Ana*

Morrissey

On paper, this district looks as though it ought to be fairly comfortable for a Democrat. Democrats have represented it in the past; most recently Tom Umberg, who left in 1994 to make a failed run for attorney general. But overall, this is not a good performance district for Democrats. Pete Wilson and Michael Huffington carried the district in 1994, while Wilson and Dan Lungren also carried it in 1990, as did conservative Republican Bruce Herschensohn against Barbara Boxer in the 1992 U.S. Senate race. The Democratic candidate to succeed Umberg in 1994 — the president of the Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce — cratered against Morrissey, a poor showing due in part to a bitter primary against a Latino in a district where Latinos make up 65 percent of the population. Morrissey, on the other hand, ran a sophisticated campaign that even included a Spanish-language phone bank. He also benefitted from the GOP tide of '94. Morrissey once again will attempt to run strong in the Latino community, but he has several problems not encountered in 1994. First, the Democratic candidate — Correa — is Latino, and he may get substantial help from Assembly Democrats — especially the Latino caucus. Second, Latinos have been registering to vote in substantial numbers throughout the state, and they are not registering in any party that numbers Pete Wilson among its members. That should translate into local support for Correa. Both sides have targeted this district, which means lots of money, lots of mail and a leg up to the best get-out-the-vote taxi service. TOSS-UP

District 70 (29% D - 55% R) — *Democrat: Shirley Palley. Republican: Incumbent Marilyn Brewer. Libertarian. Gene Reed. All of Irvine. Natural Law: Paul Fisher of Costa Mesa.*

Let's see. A 26-point GOP registration bulge. A popular first-term incumbent. Uh, SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 71 (28% D - 58% R) — *Democrat: Jack Roberts. Republican: Bill Campbell. Both of Orange.*

Businessman Campbell — no relation to the former state senator — won this seat in the primary when he defeated four other GOP candidates, the most formidable of whom was former Orange Mayor Jim Beam. Campbell was the choice of most Orange County legislators, including the man vacating this seat — Mickey Conroy. The district itself is the most Republican in the state, so Democrat Roberts chances would be zilch. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 72 (31% D - 55% R) — *Republican: Incumbent Dick Ackerman.*

How do you handicap a race like this? Is an upset in the making? The chances are rife for intrigue, sabotage, outright assaults, stumbles, mistakes, ambushes — all taking a toll on the field, all whipsawing the participants. How many debates are scheduled? Where are the trip wires? Who will muster enough strength at the end to go forward, when all seems hopeless, when every fiber is strained, when the entire field is exhausted? How can you predict these things in so fierce a struggle? SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 73 (29% D - 53% R) — *Democrat: Robert Wilberg of Capistrano. Republican: Incumbent Bill Morrow of Oceanside. Natural Law: Catherine Carter of Bonsal.*

Nearly 90 percent of the Republicans in this Orange County-San Diego County district didn't care that two-term incumbent Morrow was cited for four-wheeling in a state park no-no zone earlier this year, then tried to use his position as an elected official to bully his way out of the citation. They voted for him in the primary, and along this stretch of coastal highway that is game, set, match. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 74 (30% D - 50% R) — *Republican: Incumbent Howard Kaloogian of Carlsbad. Libertarian: Douglas Webb of Del Mar. Independent: Fred Clayton of Vista.*

Kaloogian

Clayton

Rookie incumbent Kaloogian can't seem to shake the Clayton family. Fred Clayton ran against him in the 1994 GOP primary, and the experience proved so bitter for Clayton that he has refused to forgive and forget. His wife, Doris, filed against Kaloogian in the '96 GOP primary and managed 40 percent of the vote. Her campaign was virtually nonexistent until a month before the March vote, when her treasury suddenly ballooned and she hammered at Kaloogian for being too conservative. Still, she fell short and now has passed the anti-Kaloogian torch back to Fred, who put together enough signatures to qualify for the ballot as an independent. A scenario for a Clayton victory exists. He is helped by the fact that Democrats didn't field a candidate, and he must spend enough money to get his message out to Democratic voters. He will have help in that regard from sources described as "friends" by Democrats. In addition, he must have a message that appeals to Democrats, which he may be able to do since he is regarded as a moderate Republican. Clayton, an airline pilot, raised $100,000 for his '94 effort, but that was for an open seat in a huge GOP field, and he still ran well behind Kaloogian. This year, he plans to spend $300,000 and has targeted Democrats and the GOP vote that went to his wife in the primary. Finally, Kaloogian likely will lose a smidgen of the electorate to Libertarian Webb, which only will matter in a very close contest. The incumbent, meanwhile, will have the most money to throw around, both as a result of his fund raising and that of Assembly colleagues,

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who will pony up for him if the race looks tight. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 75 (30% D - 51% R) — *Adrian Kwiatkowski of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Jan Goldsmith of Poway. Natural Law: William Cowling III of San Diego.*

A final term for Goldsmith. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 76 (39% D - 39% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Susan Davis. Republican: Bob Trettin. Peace and Freedom: Christine Freel. All of San Diego.*

Davis

Trettin

Two years ago, Trettin and Davis squared off for what was then a seat left open by the retirement of a Democratic incumbent. Registration at the time narrowly favored Democrats, and Republicans were further handicapped by a divisive primary and lack of resources. Trettin was the most conservative of the GOP candidates in '94, and Democrats were quick to paint him as a right-winger too conservative for this moderate, environmentally sensitive district. Davis, meanwhile, had no primary contest and a track record on the San Diego school board that appealed to local voters. Davis also ran a campaign that linked her more closely with the Republican gubernatorial candidate, San Diegan Pete Wilson, than with her own party's nominee — a smart strategy, given that Wilson carried the district by more than 20 points and given the area's propensity to vote Republican in statewide races. Davis and Trettin are up for a rematch in 1996, and the scenario may be slightly different. First of all, Davis now has an Assembly track record, which Republicans plan to exploit by pointing out the differences between her promises of '94 and her voting record — which they claim violates her pledge to help Pete Wilson enact his agenda. Wilson himself is expected to carry this message into the district. They also intend to portray Davis as cozy with trial lawyers, promoting the notion that she supports Proposition 211 — the frivolous lawsuit initiative that Republicans claim is strongly opposed in San Diego. Trettin likely will have all the money he needs to get his message out on television and in mailboxes. His major problem is convincing the area's traditonally moderate voters that he represents their views. To counter Democratic claims that the pro-life Trettin is too right-wing, he plans to tout his record as a policy adviser to Mayor Susan Golding, especially a compromise he engineered between developers and environmentalists over the issue of growth. He also plans to snuggle up to moderate Republicans such as Secretary of State Bill Jones, Treasurer Matt Fong and Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush. In attacking Davis, his campaign intends to trot out the standard anti-Democratic bromides, saying the incumbent is on the wrong side of issues to help boost the economy, lower taxes and reform welfare. As many studies and polls of late indicate, however, the economy is on a surge, and voters tend to discount this kind of hyperbole in an improving economy. For her part, Davis has the benefit of incumbency. Her organization is said to be not as strong as that of other local Democratic candidates, and her bank account relies heavily on infusions from Assembly colleagues — which could hamper her campaign if their bank account runs dry. Still, she is high on their priority list for the seat is critical to their chances of regaining the Assembly. She also will benefit from Dede Alpert's Senate race, which overlaps this district. TOSS-UP

District 77 (38% D - 43% R) — *Democrat: Janet Gastil of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Steve Baldwin of El Cajon. Libertarian: Elizabeth Meyers of San Diego.*

Democrat Gastil's first foray into elective politics took place four years ago when she challenged area Congressman Duncan Hunter, whose credibility was damaged by the House banking scandal. She lost, although her showing was credible. She lost not so credibly to Hunter in '94. Now, she's gunning for rookie Baldwin, chairman of the Assembly Education Committee and one of the lower house's more entertaining members. Gastil has been able to raise some cash — $100,000 at last report — plus has professional campaign help. Baldwin always is vulnerable, thanks to videotaped speeches from years past proclaiming, for instance, that the U.S. Air Force has an official witch. But Baldwin also has developed into one of the Legislature's hardest working members, and Gastil will need a bunch of luck and a strong presidential coattail to prevent him a second term at the grindstone. Given that no statewide Democratic candidate has won in this district in this decade, the odds seem more than daunting. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Gastil

Baldwin

District 78 (37% D - 41% R) — *Democrat: Howard Wayne. Republican: Tricia Hunter. American Independent: Nathan Johnson. All of San Diego.*

Wayne

Hunter

This is one of a pair of San Diego districts (along with the 76th) that will host a raging brawl. For the past six years, the area has been represented by Democrat Dede Alpert. Prior to that, it formed the bulk of the old AD 75, which was represented by a moderate Republican woman, and Republicans have grumbled their way through the Alpert era, saying that the district ought to be theirs because registration cuts their way. But in the matriarchy that is San Diego, Republicans never seemed capable of fielding a candidate who could wrest the district from a popular woman. Alpert, however, is termed out and running for the Senate (see SD 39), and Republicans have their best chance to take the territory this decade. At the same time, Democrats can ill afford to lose the 78th if they harbor any dreams

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of recapturing the Assembly. The entrails of elections past leave little insight as to voting patterns, except to note that party loyalty is thin and the 22 percent of voters who aren't Republicans and Democrats wander all over the map. Pete Wilson carried the district in '94 and '90, as did Dan Lungren. Michael Huffington even managed to eke out a victory here in '94, but Barbara Boxer took Bruce Herschensohn in '92. That same year, Bill Clinton beat George Bush, with significant help from Ross Perot, who bit off a quarter of the vote. At first blush the Democrats' task is daunting, given registration and given that Republicans refrained from trying to hammer a right-wing bolt into the 78th's moderate hole. Democrats' task was complicated in September when their candidate — a deputy attorney general — managed to honk off a chunk of his own party's activists by endorsing Proposition 209 — the California Civil Rights Initiative. As a result, local Democratic activists — especially from ethnic communities and among gays and women — are threatening to shut off Wayne's local support. He won't lose public backing accorded to any Democrat, but his endorsement may cost him a chance to create a potent volunteer base among Democratic women. And with the women's vote an important district battleground, Wayne's CCRI stance means he has ceded ground among Republican and independent women without his opponent having to work for it. Assembly Democrats and consultant Gale Kaufmann of Sacramento seem unruffled by the local flap, saying that his position on the initiative likely won't hurt him, although they concede that it has complicated his election. Still, Wayne has angered a segment of his base in a district where the Democrat needs every friendly face he can find. Watching from the sidelines is Hunter, a former assemblywoman who was reapportioned out of her old district and chose to move east into the desert in 1992 to save her career. She lost to Democrat Julie Bornstein in AD 80 but has since returned to her natural base in San Diego. Hunter, guided by the McNally-Temple consulting firm in Sacramento, ran a low-key primary against a pair of better-known men, standing on the sidelines until very late, then moving in with plenty of money to nab the nomination. A pro-choice moderate, Hunter is much more in the mold of Alpert than is Wayne — an important distinction in a district that elects moderate women. The nut to crack, for both candidates, is getting their message heard above the din that will pass for political discourse in an area that features hot races for the Assembly, Senate and Congress. Both sides will have plenty of money for television and mail, and in a close race, Wayne's CCRI millstone may just be enough to sink his candidacy. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 79 (50% D - 26% R) — *Democrat: Incumbent Denise Ducheny of San Diego. Republican: Bob Divine of Chula Vista.*

Given all the hoopla and huckleberry swirling around the rest of San Diego, this promises to be a snoozer. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 80 (47% D - 40% R) — *Democrat: Steve Clute. Republican: Incumbent Jim Battin. Both of Palm Desert. Natural Law: John Borchert of Palm Springs.*

Democrats have this race on their "watch" list, mostly because they enjoy a slight registration edge and a Democrat represented it prior to 1994. What they probably will watch is the re-election of rookie Battin. Democrat Clute served in the Assembly from 1982 to 1992, when reapportionment blew his old 68th District into three unfriendly parts — one of which is this district. Clute's response was, charitably, ambivalent. He announced his retirement, then moved at the last minute into AD 80, where he promptly lost the primary to Julie Bornstein. Two years later, Clute lost a congressional race to Sonny Bono. His main problem, however, is money; Clute has never been a good — or even adequate — fund raiser, having relied in the past on handouts from Assembly Democrats. That source is stretched in 1996 and does not have the flexibility to play in marginal districts inhabited by marginal candidates. To emphasize the point, Clute had raised but $2000 by early September, compared with a $100,000-plus treasury amassed by Battin. That allowed the incumbent to begin dropping mail on his base in mid-September. Battin also is the giant-killer who knocked off Bornstein two years ago after she had all but been annointed as a future speaker. Statewide Democratic candidates have not run well here in the '90s, with only Bill Clinton carrying the district in 1992. Michael Huffington even beat Dianne Feinstein here by 13 points in 1994. Republicans must hold the district to keep their Assembly majority, which means Battin gets all the resources necessary, in addition to his own fund raising. Democrats may have gone after him full bore with another candidate, but they are not likely to have the cash to help Clute climb a mountain. SAFE REPUBLICAN

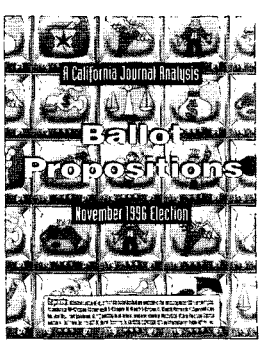
Clute

Battin

There's still time to be informed...

A California Journal Analysis

1996 November Ballot Propositions



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The Bottom Line
government finance

by Susan Rasky

Labor Seeks to Rebuild its House — and Newt's

This ain't your daddy's labor movement.

That much is quite clear in the 12 months since John Sweeney took over the presidency of the AFL-CIO and applied a long-needed broom to both personnel and structure in the Federation's Washington headquarters and to organization in the field. As Sweeney's own, retooled public-relations department likes to boast, labor's new face now "more closely resembles the backgrounds of the fastest growing segments of the workforce." Of the 51 AFL-CIO vice presidents, 14 are women or people of color, including Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson, who presumably gets counted in both categories.

Less clear is what sort of new labor movement Sweeny's ambitious grass-roots organizing effort can actually fashion in a post-industrial economy where the workforce is increasingly divided between the highly skilled and the unskilled and where growing numbers of temporary, part-time and self-employed workers no longer fit a simple worker-versus-management model. And if the economic interests of this new workforce defy easy categorization, its political predilections are, if anything, more diverse. That's particularly true in California, where two of the state's heaviest political hitters have been the California Teachers Association and the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, neither of which happen to be affiliated with the AFL-CIO. While the CTA's leadership is arguably a reliable donor to Democratic legislative causes and candidates, a good 40 percent of the membership is registered Republican. The CCPOA, which bats on both sides in state legislative races, achieved its real clout with six-figure independent expenditures in both of Pete Wilson's gubernatorial campaigns. For the first time this year, the CCPOA will be targeting congressional races.

At least in theory, Sweeney and his new lieutenants seem to grasp all this, directing both financial and human resources to ground-up organizing across the country that relies on local affiliates to target the most promising workplaces or industries. Here in California, for example, the national federation has committed to a multi-million dollar effort involving nine different unions in the Los Angeles basin who are trying to organize both service and manufacturing workers.

In the political arena, the AFL-CIO is billing its Labor '96 campaign as a long-term, *nonpartisan* drive to put working family issues, particularly wages, in the forefront of the national debate (Thank you, Pat Buchanan.). The federation has promised a massive voter-registration and get-out-the-vote drive at the state and local level involving both paid professionals and union volunteers.

Practically speaking, however, the deployment of 131 field coordinators to 86 targeted congressional races across the country amounts to a concentrated effort to unseat Republicans who have been hostile to labor's causes — health-care reform and preservation of funding for Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security benefits. Thus far, the most visible and dramatic aspect of that $35 million campaign has been a blizzard of independent expenditure television ads in key congressional races, including California's 1st District, where incumbent Republican Frank Riggs is being challenged by Democrat Michela Alioto, and California's 22nd District, where incumbent Republican freshman Andrea Seastrand faces a rematch with Democrat Walter Capps.

Labor's decision to use its political war chest as part of its own rebuilding efforts clearly makes more sense over the long-haul than simply handing out the money to Democratic candidates. But the strategy is not without risks. Pump $35 million into a high-profile campaign to change the partisan makeup of Congress and come November 6th, somebody is bound to ask how well you did.

Nationally, demographics and the belated effects of reapportionment on open congressional seats in the South still argue for Republicans retaining control of Congress. In California, where state Democratic Party officials have been insisting that President Bill Clinton's popularity will assure a strong Democratic turnout, there is little so far to suggest that the President's coattails are wide enough to greatly alter the 26-26 balance in the congressional delegation. Arguably, the result of a Clinton tide would be protection of incumbent Democrats in swing districts who might otherwise have been vulnerable. State legislative races may prove equally insulated from labor's national organizing efforts. California's new labor leaders took office only last month, and while they have been working closely with Sweeney and the AFL-CIO, they are a year behind the Washington office in putting a campaign strategy in place.

Democratic consultants involved in the Assembly and state Senate campaigns say they welcome any kind of labor GOTV effort. But for practical purposes, the balance of power in the Assembly will be determined by what happens in marginal Democratic districts, and it is not yet clear whether state labor officials will want to spend their money in those races. It is also worth noting that in the one area where California labor has been most active so far — ballot initiatives to increase the minimum wage and to regulate practices of health-maintenance organizations — Democratic polling shows virtually no connection between voter preferences on the ballot measures and voter preferences for legislative candidates.

Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, graduate school of journalism.

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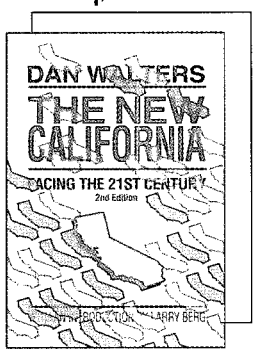

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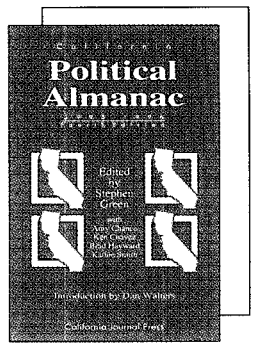

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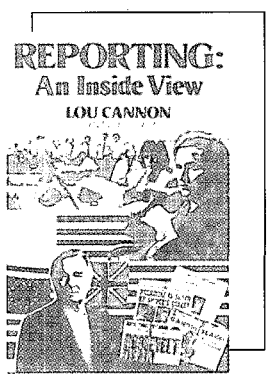

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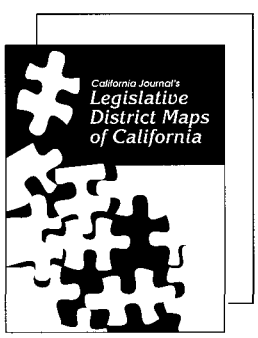

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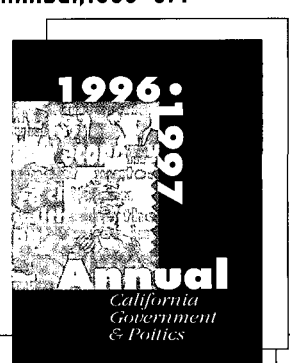

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